

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

Monthly
Illustrated

September
1896

Edited by ALBERT SHAW

Would Free Coinage Double the Price of Silver?

I. Yes: Dr. Charles B. Spahr. II. No: Professor J. Laurence Laughlin.

The Vice-Presidency in the Present Campaign.

By Theodore Roosevelt. With Portraits and Illustrations.

The Comments of a Populist on the St. Louis Convention.

By Henry D. Lloyd. With Portraits.

The Populist Methods of Propaganda.

By Newell Dwight Hillis.

John Brown in the Adirondacks.

By Albert Shaw. With Portraits and Illustrations.

The Editor on the Presidential Campaign, International Arbitration, and the European Situation.

The Lord Chief Justice on Arbitration.

The Most Striking Political Cartoons of the Month.

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—Harper's Monthly

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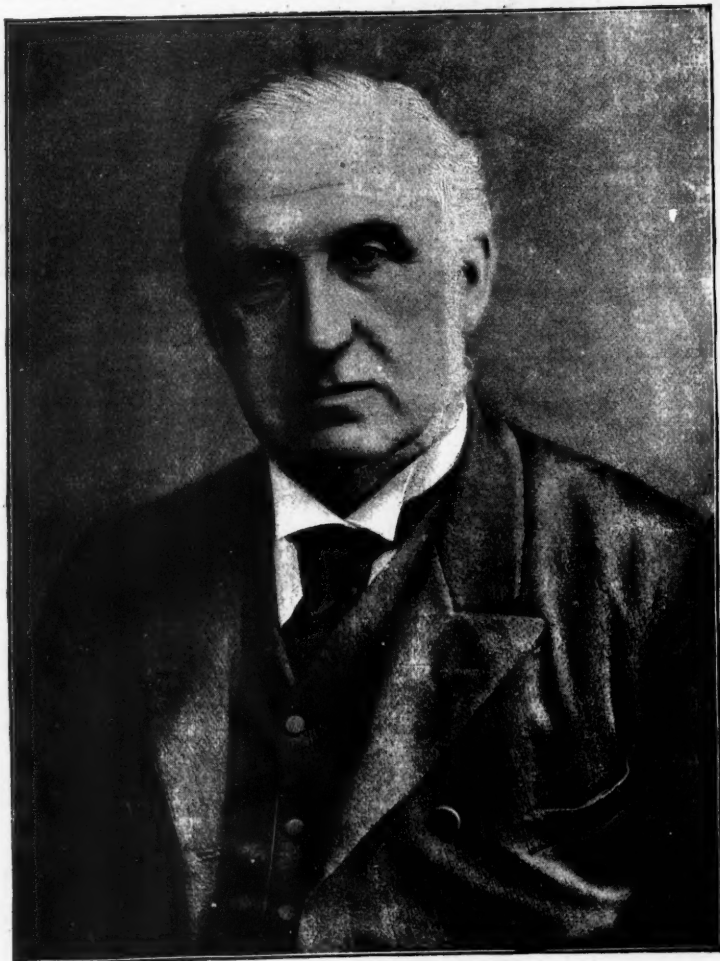
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K. Smith to family
Lord Russell

LORD RUSSELL, CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

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No. 3.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

The Sound-Money Democrats.

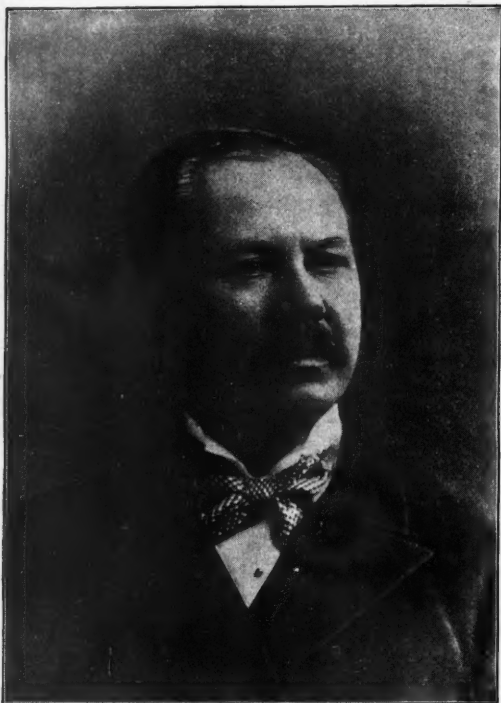
New York does not afford an advantageous point of view for an accurate estimate of the conditions of the political campaign. It has not even been easy in New York during the past month to ascertain the real state of local public opinion; and it has been much more difficult to obtain satisfactory reports and impressions concerning the tendencies of the



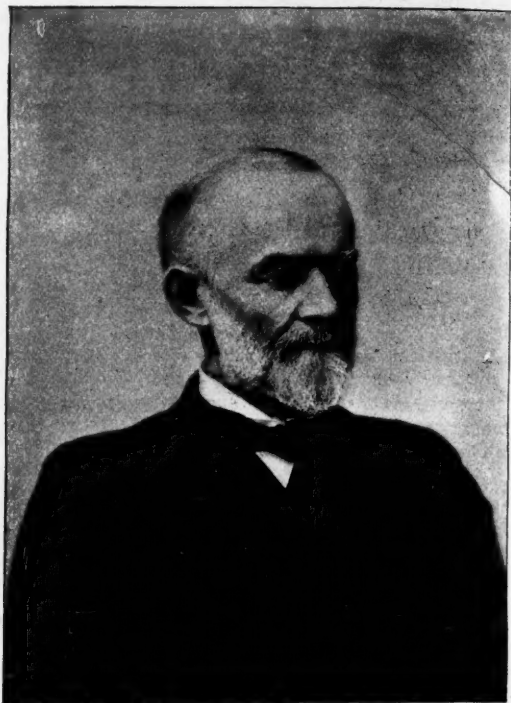
SENATOR PALMER OF ILLINOIS.

political season throughout the country. The situation as regards the mechanism of parties and factions has grown more intricate; while so far as the issues before the country are concerned the situation has grown clearer and simpler. For some weeks after the nomination of the Bryan and Sewall ticket at Chicago, it seemed unlikely that any very influential organization of bolting sound-money Democrats could be formed for the purpose of promulgating a platform and nominating a separate ticket.

But a movement which at first did not promise either a vigorous or a rapid growth, at length developed great importance. A conference was held in Indianapolis on August 7 which brought together representative sound-money Democrats from many states of the Union. This preliminary conference, in which such men as Senator Palmer of Illinois, General Bragg of Wisconsin, Mr. Bynum of Indiana, and General Buckner of Kentucky were very prominent, and which was presided over by Senator Palmer, came quickly to the conclusion that the wisest thing to do would be to call a convention, adopt a platform and launch a new ticket. Accordingly it was resolved to convene again at Indianapolis on September 2. The results of the Indianapolis convention will be known by our readers in the course of two or three days after this number of the REVIEW reaches them. It is certain that the convention will declare very strongly for the maintenance of the gold standard, and probable that it will commit itself to the view that the greenbacks ought to be retired as promptly as possible. It will also accord unstinting praise to President Cleveland and his administration. Various well-known Democrats have been suggested as possible nominees of the Indianapolis convention. At first General Bragg was mentioned with great favor; in some quarters Mr. Henry Watterson of Kentucky was advocated; Senator Palmer of Illinois was perhaps more generally named than any one else, and several members of Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet, notably Mr. Carlisle, were in the list of those considered desirable. It does not seem to be the expectation of any one connected with this sound-money Democratic movement that the Indianapolis ticket can be elected. The men who have furthered the movement declare that there are many Democrats who cannot vote for the Republican candidates, and who ought not to be left with any excuse to vote for Bryan and Sewall. A good many Democrats of a more independent turn of mind have declared their intention to give a whole vote against Bryan by voting for McKinley, rather than half a vote against him by depositing their ballots for a sound-money Democratic ticket which cannot in any case be elected. But the promoters of the Indianapolis convention have been looking to the future as



HON. WM. D. BYNUM OF INDIANA.



GEN. BRAGG OF WISCONSIN.

well as to the present, and have desired to maintain as a nucleus a Democratic party favorable at once to tariff reform, banking reform and the gold standard. They have thought it quite possible in several Eastern states to prevent the regular Democratic organizations from endorsing the Chicago platform and candidates; and it is their hope that the Democracy of New York, which will assemble in State convention at Buffalo on September 16, may be induced to give its adherence to the platform and ticket adopted by the Indianapolis convention two weeks earlier.

*Where Stand the
Eastern
Wage-Earners?*

The question of course is, to what extent the rank and file of the Eastern Democracy has been inoculated with the virus of free silver. There is no doubt as to where most of the well-known Eastern leaders stand. They were conspicuously absent from the great gathering which greeted Mr. Bryan on August 12 at Madison Square Garden in New York, and most of them had publicly repudiated the action of the Chicago convention. A great effort was made to induce Senator Hill to preside at the notification meeting, and thus to identify himself with the silver ticket and platform; but Mr. Hill remained silent and non-committal, and it was understood that

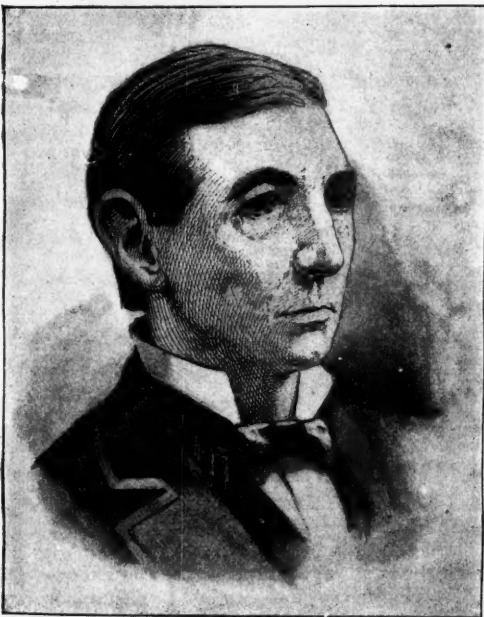
he did not propose to declare himself until after the State Democratic convention in the middle of September. Meanwhile, a few days after Mr. Bryan's Madison Square Garden speech, the Hon. Bourke Cockran, who had come out for McKinley, drew an immense crowd to the same place to hear a much-advertised reply to Mr. Bryan's argument for free silver. Whereas very few Democrats of well-known position were identified with the Bryan meeting, Mr. Cockran's demonstration was under the auspices of a voluminous list of the most conspicuous Democratic figures of New York and the East. Mr. Bryan had commented upon the sound-money Democratic movement as an army of generals without any common soldiers behind them. It must remain to be seen how the working men of the great Eastern centers of commerce and industry will conclude to cast their ballots. It is evident that the mere names "Democrat" and "Republican" have lost all their charm for the working men. They will vote this year in accordance with their view as to the net balance of advantage for themselves and their own class. If the eminent politicians of the Democratic party were absent from the Bryan meeting, it is true on the other hand that the leaders of trades-unionism and organized labor were present on that occasion.

The great newspapers of New York, with the exception of the *Journal*, which is supporting the Chicago platform and ticket, have endeavored to make the country believe that the Bryan notification meeting was a flat and dismal failure. The writer, who was present at the meeting with the sole desire to observe impartially in order to report fairly and truthfully to his readers, was entirely unable to agree with the newspaper opinions as generally expressed. The heat of the night was intense; the crowds, both inside and outside of the building, were enormous, and the physical discomfort of everybody was serious. The preliminary exercises, including the speech of Governor Stone of Missouri, occupied a considerable time. The crowd, moreover, had been assembled and in waiting for nearly an hour before



Drawn for the World.

MR. BRYAN SPEAKING IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN.



GOV. STONE OF MISSOURI.

the exercises began. The hall had been packed to suffocation in an atmosphere of about 100 degrees Fahrenheit for nearly two hours before Mr. Bryan began a speech which itself was nearly two hours long, and which did not attempt to be anything except an argumentative essay upon the money question. Every one knew that the entire speech would be printed in all the newspapers the following morning, and some thousands of people were so placed in the vast room (which is a place not primarily intended as an auditorium but rather as the scene of the yearly Horse Show, Barnum's circus, etc.) that they could not hear the speakers. It would have been excusable, therefore, if a considerable percentage of the people present, after having seen Mr. Bryan, should have left the hall. Precisely the same thing happened four years ago on the occasion of the notification of Mr. Cleveland in the same building. At that time no candid person regarded the withdrawal from the hall of part of the people who occupied standing room as any manifestation of coldness toward the presidential candidate. Far from being a cold and unresponsive audience, Mr. Bryan's audience was immensely enthusiastic. The vast bulk of the crowd remained to hear the very last word of the speech; and it is fair to say that the concourse seemed, from the vicinity of

the platform, as vast at the end of the meeting as it had seemed at the beginning. It was a meeting chiefly of the working men of New York, and their sympathy with the orator of the occasion was undoubtedly very general. They did not seem to be disappointed either with the man or with the speech.



MR. BLAND AT THE BRYAN MEETING, NEW YORK.

These are the candid impressions of an observer who certainly was not biased by any endorsement of the views or arguments set forth in Mr. Bryan's speech. It certainly can do no harm to have it known that, at this stage of the campaign, there is no evidence that the working men of New York, who constitute the larger half of the voters, are opposed to Bryan and the Chicago ticket. In our judgment, the New York working men soon after the Chicago convention were strongly inclined to support Mr. Bryan and espouse free silver, in a pretty solid mass. It would also seem evident, however, as the campaign proceeds, that the working men of the East are entirely open to conviction on the money question, and are eager to get at the truth. How they will vote in November remains to be seen. It is, however, permissible, perhaps, to express the opinion that a much larger vote of working men would have been cast in New York for the Bryan ticket in August than can be held together until the first week in November. This view is based upon some evidence that a reaction has already set in.

Cheap Money and Wages. New York trades unionism has not been drawn toward Mr. Bryan and the

Chicago platform through any great eagerness for free silver. In a nominal and perfunctory fashion, it is true, most of the labor organizations, standing upon the platform either of the American Federation of Labor or of the Knights of Labor, have for some years been committed to free coinage. But Mr. Gompers and the men of his way of thinking would be ready to admit that it is chiefly because of the other planks in the platform that they are supporting Mr. Bryan. The Chicago platform demands an income tax, criticises the Supreme Court for its income-tax decision, condemns the employment of Federal troops at the great Chicago railway strikes, and spurns the innovation known as "government by injunction" through Federal judges. It is that part of the Chicago platform which we may term its Altgeldism and Debsism that has won the allegiance of the Eastern labor leaders, rather than the part which we may call its Blandism and Harveyism. It happens, however, that Mr. Bryan, who is personally as acceptable as



SENATOR JONES AT THE BRYAN MEETING, NEW YORK.

possible to the Eastern working men, has chosen thus far in his speeches to devote himself almost exclusively to the advocacy of free silver. Mr. Bryan's tactical mistake at Madison Square Garden consisted in bringing to the chief city of the East a monetary argument, adapted to the farmers rather than to the

industrial wage-earners. It would have been better for his cause to have made his notification speech at home in Nebraska, and to have made a dashing, off-hand speech to the working men of New York at least a month later, dealing with the general issues



Drawn for the *Herald*.

BOURKE COCKRAN SPEAKING FOR SOUND MONEY, AUG. 18.

of the campaign rather than with problems of monetary science. For is it not plain enough that the very thing that will work chiefly for Mr. Bryan's defeat in the East must be, not the desire for free silver on the part of working men, but their dread of free silver? The farmers of the United States, in large proportion, are carrying mortgage indebtedness at high rates of interest. The low price of crops makes it hard for them to meet interest charges and still harder to pay off the principal. It will be difficult in the extreme to convince these farmers that cheap money, and corresponding high prices, will not enormously benefit the man who tills the soil.

Farmer Versus Wage-Getter.

If cheap money benefits the farmer, it might also benefit the firms or corporations largely employing labor, except where there is a heavy gold indebtedness to care for. But the wage-earner would seem to have everything to lose and nothing to gain from cheap money. All history goes to show that wages do not rise accordingly as the purchasing power of money falls. Thus, if general prices and the cost of the working man's living should advance a hundred per cent., a man who had been earning two dollars a day ought in theory to receive four dollars; but in fact it would be a considerable time before his wages would rise even as high as three dollars. It is therefore to the interest of the regular wage-earner that the full purchasing power of money shall be maintained. This is further true for the added reason that a working man's savings are invested in forms expressed by precise money terms;

and a thousand dollars saved in good money would still be only a thousand dollars, even if money became cheap and bad. The farmer, on the contrary, has his accumulations invested in land and its improvements; and high prices for what the farmer has to sell, due to a cheapening of the value of the dollar, will at once give a higher nominal value to his estate. The position of the farmer would therefore seem to be just the reverse of the working man's. The free silver movement is essentially an agrarian movement. Agriculture has been in a depressed condition, due to extremely low prices, throughout America and Europe, for a number of years. A return of high prices is the one thing that the farmers deem essential; and they now see no way to secure higher prices except through legislation to reduce the purchasing power of the dollar. It is not silver for its own sake that the farmers desire, but silver for the sake of higher prices,—in short, cheaper money. They are for free silver this year because free silver is the only thing in sight that promises to make a given amount of farm produce bring them a considerably larger number of dollars than it will at present bring.

Intensity of the Silver Propaganda. Here in the East we are daily assured that the free silver movement in the West is visibly waning, and that there is every sign that the Bryan campaign will quite go



A MIGHTY RISKY EXPERIMENT.

BRYAN TO WORKINGMAN: "Now, my good man, I propose to cut your dollar in two without hurting you a particle."

From *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 22, 1896.



TWO TYPICAL CARTOONS APPEARING IN HUNDREDS OF POPULIST WEEKLIES OF THE WEST.

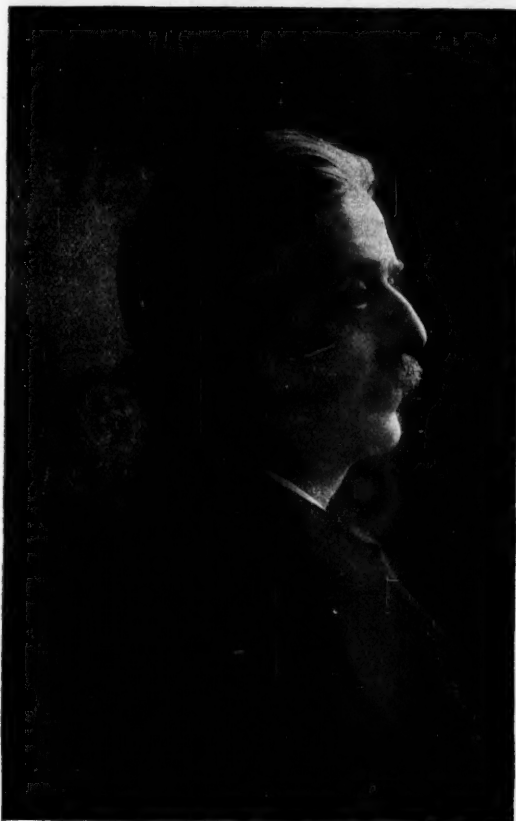
to pieces and end in a ridiculous farce by the middle of October. Hardly any one in the East except the free silver men themselves, not even the best informed Republican and anti-silver leaders, seems to have the faintest conception of the intensity of the Populist-Democratic campaign in the West and South. Nor do they seem to be cognizant of the strength of the silver movement in the rural districts of the East. If the election had been held in August, the victory of Mr. Bryan would have been almost inevitable. No one can predict what will happen in November. Those who are vociferously declaring that Bryan is sure to sweep the country, and those who declare on the other hand with equal confidence that the election of McKinley by an overwhelming majority is a foregone conclusion, are the men who know least about the situation. At this stage in the campaign no guesses are shrewd, and no conclusions have any staying quality. It is simply certain that never since 1860 has there been such a shaking off of mere party ties; and in no previous presidential campaign has the drift of popular sentiment borne so little relation to the attitude of prominent political leaders, or to the stand taken by the best-known newspapers. The reason for all this can be very plainly and bluntly told. It is because the new cleavage, unlike the old, is horizontal rather than vertical. The eminent political leaders and most of the prosperous newspapers are identified with the conservative interests of the capital-controlling elements of the community. The free silver campaign is not being carried on where it can be readily observed. It is largely a mouth-to-mouth propaganda among the humbler and poorer classes; and its literature is chiefly in the form of weekly papers published in country places. These papers are, however, to a great extent supplied with ready-made matter, or with so-called "patent insides," by central establishments in the cities, and the matter thus supplied, whether in the form of arguments or of diagrams and cartoons, is most ingeniously prepared. Indeed, it is far better adapted for its purpose than most of the printed material that the Republican and sound money

campaign committees are now attempting to distribute by the carload at so great an expense. The Western Populists and free silver Democrats have an immense number of highly effective schoolhouse propagandists who penetrate every corner of every remote township with their telling blackboard diagrams, their striking maps and charts and posters, and their impressive system of making their points appeal graphically to the eyes as well as audibly to the ears of their assemblages. Those of us who live in the large cities are accustomed to very effective cartoons in the great papers, in opposition to the silver movement. We are prone, therefore, to forget that in the smaller places of the West and South, and most of all in the purely farming districts, it is precisely the opposite sort of cartoons that are being circulated by the hundreds of thousands. Mr. Hillis, in an article elsewhere in this number, tells our readers from his own recent and extensive observation, what methods are being employed by the Western silver crusaders. Before the campaign is ended, doubtless, the sound-money crusade will



A TYPICAL WESTERN CARTOON.

"Which is the Anarchist?"—*Rocky Mountain News*.



MR. HENRY D. LLOYD OF CHICAGO.
(See Article on Populism, page 298).

have carried an aggressive fight into all these localities. But how successful it may be in overcoming the advantage now held by the silver men no one can say. The best fighting ground for the sound money men during the months of September and October must be in the communities where large numbers of wage-earners are employed.

The Populists at St. Louis. The representatives of the People's party already gathered in St. Louis were about to open their great convention when our record for last month was closed. The results of that convention are well known, but it may be convenient to summarize them briefly in these pages. There were about thirteen hundred delegates in the convention, and it was evident from the beginning that Mr. Bryan's candidacy would be gladly endorsed if some means could be found to keep the Populist party from being so completely absorbed in the body of the new Democracy as to lose its organization and machinery. The Northwestern Populists, especially those from Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, went to St. Louis to do everything in their power for the ratification of

the Chicago ticket. The foremost advocates of this plan were Senator Allen of Nebraska and General Weaver of Iowa. The opponents of the plan were for the most part Southern Populists who came from communities in which the Republican party was practically non-existent, and where Populism and Democracy were most intensely hostile to one another. These Southern Populists, who were to some extent supported by Northern leaders like the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, and Mr. Coxey of Ohio, were in favor of an absolutely separate Populist ticket. The fusionists were strong enough at the outset, however, to make Senator Allen permanent chairman of the convention, and General Weaver chairman of the committee on resolutions. The work of the convention made slow progress, and it became evident after a few days that while a majority would be ready to endorse Mr. Bryan's candidacy for the first place on the ticket, there was little hope of securing an endorsement of Mr. Sewall of Maine for the second place. Mr. Sewall, as president of a bank, director in railway companies and other corporations, and a wealthy employer of labor, was not acceptable to the People's party. The separate ticket men succeeded in persuading the convention to reverse the usual order of nominations and select the vice-presidential candidate first. The Hon. Thomas Watson of Georgia was accordingly nominated with immense enthusiasm by a great majority. Mr. Watson is a man of intense convictions,



SENATOR ALLEN OF NEBRASKA,
Chairman of People's Party Convention at St. Louis.

fanatical fervor and undoubted integrity and sincerity. He is a country editor, and has been a conspicuous member of the Georgia delegation in Congress. He is a powerful personality in the politics of his own state. He is still a young man, being thirty-eight or thirty nine years of age. Senator Jones, chairman of the National Democratic committee, who was in St. Louis endeavoring to persuade the Populists to accept the entire Chicago ticket, telegraphed Mr. Bryan advising him to stand by Sewall and decline a Populist nomination. Mr. Bryan's acceptance of this advice only strengthened his position with the Populists, however, and they nominated him for President by a ballot which gave him more than a thousand votes out of the thirteen hundred. The vice-presidential situation becomes therefore a very peculiar one, and our readers will find it commented upon with characteristic frankness and vigor in an article which the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt has contributed to this number of the REVIEW. From a very different standpoint the Populist convention in its general character and significance is discussed in an article by Mr. Henry D. Lloyd of Chicago, author of that powerful indictment of monopoly entitled "Wealth against Commonwealth," and of other equally brilliant books. Mr. Lloyd attended the Populist convention, and writes as a sympathetic interpreter.

*Fusion and
Confusion.*

The determination of the Populists to preserve their state organizations, and to come out of the campaign in a condition which will enable them to differentiate themselves once more from their allies, is resulting in a vast amount of complex and curious bargaining over the naming of presidential electors. For Mr. Bryan's triumph it is indispensable that the Populists and free silver Democrats should manage in each state to vote for identical lists of electors; and the matter could be arranged more readily were it not for the fact that Mr. Sewall and Mr. Watson are rival candidates for the vice presidency. If one or the other of them would withdraw, the situation would be comparatively simple. But Mr. Watson is on guard for the future of the Populist party, and does not dream of resigning in Mr. Sewall's favor. In several states, fusion lists of electors have been agreed upon; while in no two states would it seem that the methods and terms of the fusion are identical. In some of the Southern states the Populists have been accustomed to fuse with the Republicans as against the Democrats. This is notably true in North Carolina, the home state of Senator Marion Butler, chairman of the Populist executive committee. To set forth in detail the recent trials and vicissitudes of the Populist organization in the several states of the South and West would require many pages.

*State
Elections.*

The state campaigns are naturally attracting much attention, particularly in those states which hold early elections. The state election of Alabama occurred in August, and

the Hon. Joseph F. Johnston, free silver Democrat, was elected governor by a great majority. The Vermont election comes on September 1, which is the date of publication of this number of the REVIEW; and while it is practically certain that the Republicans will have elected their ticket, headed by the Hon. Josiah Grout for governor, it is hoped by the free silver men and Democrats that some slight breach in the usual Republican majority may be made. The election in Maine occurs on September 14. Inasmuch as that state has in times past been



HON. H. S. PINGREE OF MICHIGAN.

much affected by the greenback doctrine and other so-called monetary heresies, it is hoped by the supporters of Mr. Bryan that the results may give some indication of free silver sentiment among the farmers of the East. The Republican managers have put many of their speakers of national reputation into the Maine canvass, and the Hon. Thomas B. Reed in particular has distinguished himself by the strength and brilliancy of his speeches. Mr. Bryan had expected to accompany Mr. Sewall from New York to Maine; but he changed his plans, went up the Hudson to write his letter of acceptance, and then went West, speaking *en route*. In the state of New York the party factions as usual have been engaged in unending wrangles. The Republican convention for the nomination of a governor and other state officers was appointed to be held at Sara-

toga on August 25. As the date approached it was generally conceded that the convention would be controlled by Mr. Platt and the machine, and that the ticket would be as completely dictated by Mr. Platt as on any previous occasion. This result will not be advantageous to Mr. McKinley's fortunes in New York; but the split in the Democratic ranks will probably give the state to Mr. McKinley in spite of the unsavory condition of local Republican politics. The Democrats will hold their convention at Buffalo on the 16th of September, and if, as appears probable, the free silver men should be in control, there will be a strong ticket launched by the reform wing of the party, who will expect to secure on the one hand the support of the sound money Democrats and on the other hand the support of that element of the Republican party which disapproves of the Platt-Morton régime, and which demands a respectable and efficient administration of state affairs. The gubernatorial campaigns in the Western states can be more intelligently commented upon next month. The most interesting of the nominations has been that of Mayor Pingree of Detroit by the Republicans for the office of governor of Michigan. Mayor Pingree is so popular with the rank and file of other parties that it seems fairly probable that there will be no serious opposition made to his election. It happens that Mayor Pingree has long had rather strong leanings toward free silver, but his practical hobby is municipal reform.

Mr. Cleveland at Buzzard's Bay. The attitude of President Cleveland and the administration toward the expected Indianapolis ticket has been much discussed, and it is generally supposed that the President and most of his cabinet are heartily in favor of the launching of a sound money Democratic ticket. The Hon. Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior, who had for a time made a stout fight in Georgia against free silver, concluded to go with the tide and support Bryan and Sewall. This decision, it was expected, would result in Mr. Smith's withdrawal from the cabinet. Mr. Cleveland is spending the summer as usual at Buzzard's Bay on the Massachusetts coast, and Washington is not for the time being an important political centre. Some important cabinet conferences have been held in the pleasant precincts of Gray Gables, but fishing has been the chief occupation of the master of the house.



GRAY GABLES, MR. CLEVELAND'S SUMMER HOME.

Chicago as Political Headquarters.

The real political capital of the country for the purposes of the present campaign is at Chicago. It is there that Mr. Hanna has concentrated the principal working machinery of the Republican executive committee, and it is there that Mr. Bryan,—in spite of the desire of Senator Jones and Senator Gorman to make Washington the headquarters of the free silver campaign,—preferred the location of the principal Democratic headquarters. The Republicans have a branch headquarters in New York, and the Democrats use Washington as their Eastern centre. Mr. William P. St. John, who presided over the convention of the Silver Party which met at St. Louis simultaneously with the Populist convention, and who is acting as treasurer of the Democratic party and at the same time of the Free Silver party, maintains a New York office, which is in some sense a branch of the Chicago headquarters. The Populist campaign is somewhat of a guerrilla affair this year, and its headquarters are hard to find. Nominally they are at Washington.

Plans of the Chief Candidates.

Mr. McKinley has thus far been exceedingly felicitous in the brief speeches he has made to visiting delegations at his home in Canton, Ohio. He has decided not to participate in the stump-speaking of the canvass, but to leave the heavy oratory to others. It is said, however, by the Republican managers, that the most effective material supplied thus far has been found in Mr. McKinley's sententious, well-phrased, and strongly sensible little speeches made to various groups of pilgrims. His letter of acceptance will probably have appeared before this magazine is in the hands of readers. Mr. Bryan's campaign is to be of the aggressive sort, and before November he will have traveled much and addressed a great number of large audiences. Each candidate has probably adopted the method that is best suited to the conditions of his campaign. Thus far the Republican canvass is in a much better state of central organization than the Democratic.

Spain's Ugly Mood.

The campaign has been so engrossing that questions of foreign policy and matters of old-world news have been for a few weeks almost ignored by the American press. But for the warmth of home politics much discussion would have resulted from the report that Spain is deliberately and carefully preparing to make an appeal to all the governments of Europe for moral support as against the United States in the controversy concerning Cuba. The Spanish soldiers have had a frightful summer in the distressed island, owing to the excessive heat and the ravages of disease. Little news of fighting has been received, and there is no reason to think that Spain is making any headway toward the suppression of the rebellion. The Spanish government is making the most strenuous efforts to increase the strength of the Spanish navy with reference to a possible conflict with the United

Venezuelan arbitration, succeeded in getting very near to each other, as will be seen by a comparison of their latest proposals. Lord Salisbury proposed—(1) that a joint commission, composed of two Americans and two Englishmen, should be appointed, who would report upon the facts of the disputed territory; (2) when their report was obtained, a tribunal of arbitration of three should be nominated, one by Great Britain, the other by Venezuela, and the third by the two so nominated. This tribunal should finally adjudicate upon the frontier, but it would not be permitted to cede any territory *bonâ fide* occupied either by British subjects on one side, or Venezuelans on the other, on the first of January, 1887. This provision he inserted in order to preclude the possibility of the tribunal ceding to Venezuela territories claimed by the latter which have hitherto been held to be part and parcel of the British colony. If the matter stopped here it would be difficult to see how an arrangement could be arrived at, for the whole dispute has from the first turned upon these settled districts which Lord Salisbury insists should be excluded from the award of the tribunal. Fortunately, it does not stop there; for Lord Salisbury, ceding in substance everything that he wishes to reserve in form, suggests that the tribunal could be empowered to submit any recommendation with regard to the settled districts which seems to it calculated to satisfy the equitable rights of the parties. This would be a recommendation and not an award; "but," Lord Salisbury added significantly, "I need not point out to you that, although the decision of the arbitral tribunal will not have a final effect, it will, unless it be manifestly unfair, offer a presumption against which the protesting government will practically find it difficult to contend." In other words, Lord Salisbury offers in set terms to accept in advance any decision that may be arrived at by the arbitral tribunal upon all questions excepting the settled districts, and further gives an unmistakable intimation that he is prepared to accept any recommendation that may be made about the settled districts, providing it be called a recommendation and not an award. Considering Lord Salisbury's earlier attitude, and his constitutional prejudices, these proposals were remarkable liberal.

Mr. Olney's
criticisms.

Mr. Olney's reply brings the question a stage nearer settlement. He points out that it is absurd to have a commission on the facts constituted of four members without authorizing them to appoint a fifth, to enable the commission to report one way or the other decisively. To this it may be assumed Lord Salisbury will not object. Mr. Olney also insists that the commission of facts should have power to report on the settled districts. And this may be taken also as conceded by Lord Salisbury; for otherwise how could the arbitral tribunal, which only deals with the report of the commission of facts, make any recommenda-

tion as to the settled districts if that commission had made no report thereupon? Finally, as to the territory *bonâ fide* occupied on one side or the other, he proposed that the arbitral tribunal should be allowed to deal with this branch of the question, not by recommendation, but by a definite award, "provided that in fixing the boundary line such weight and effect shall be given to the occupation of the territory of one party by the citizens of the other party, as reason, justice, the rules of international law, and the equities of the particular case may appear to require." To this Lord Salisbury has not yet replied, but it is obvious that no serious obstacle now remains between the two negotiating cabinets. It was laid down by the Czar of Russia, who arbitrated a dispute between France and Holland in regions closely contiguous to Venezuela only four years ago, that when a disputed frontier was fixed, the settlement should be effected without prejudice to the *bonâ fide* interests of the settlers. This precedent may or may not form part of international law, but it would undoubtedly have to be taken into account by the arbitral tribunal in giving effect to Mr. Olney's proviso.

The Proposed Permanent Tribunal.

Leaving the Venezuelan question, therefore, as one on which the governments are within sight of an agreement, we next turn to the question of the permanent tribunal which it is proposed to constitute. Lord Salisbury drew up a draft treaty, under which Britain and the United States should each appoint two or more permanent judicial officers. On the appearance of any difficulty between the two powers which, in the judgment of either of them, cannot be settled by negotiation, each of them shall designate one of the said officers as arbiters. These two arbitrators shall then select an umpire, to whom shall be referred any question upon which they disagree. To them all questions, save those affecting national honor and territorial integrity, may be referred. Britain and the United States bind themselves to accept their award as final, with the exception of questions involving the territory, territorial rights, sovereignty, or jurisdiction of either power, or any pecuniary claim involving a larger sum than £100,000. The arbiters may deal with all such reserved questions, but only subject to a right of appeal within three months of their award, to a joint Court composed of three English and three American judges, any two of whom shall have the right to set the award on one side. If, however, it is approved by five to one, or if no protest is entered by either power within the three months, then the award shall be final. All these arrangements are subject to the provision that while any question may, by special agreement, be referred to the arbitrators, no question which in the judgment of either power materially affects its honor or the integrity of its territory, shall be referred to arbitration excepting by special agreement.

*Mr. Olney's
Suggestions.*

Mr. Olney replied by accepting the general principle of the two permanent arbitrators with their umpire, who shall have absolute power to decide all questions, excepting those relating to the honor and integrity of the country; but he made one objection and one suggestion. The objection was to the somewhat extraordinary proposal of Lord Salisbury, that any two judges of a joint Court of six should have the right to set aside the award of the arbiters. Mr. Olney's alternative was that, wherever the award was not unanimous, either of the parties should have the right to appeal to a joint Court composed of three American, three English, and three learned and impartial jurists, which unanimously or by a majority vote, would either affirm the award or make another according as seemed good in their eyes. The vote of the three learned and impartial jurists is only to be taken in case the Court should be equally divided. The suggestion which Mr. Olney made was that the reservation of questions from the tribunal, because they involved the honor of the nation or the integrity of its territory, should be vested, not in the executive government, but in Congress on one side, and Parliament on the other.

*Lord Salisbury's
Practical
Proposal.*

Lord Salisbury replied by proposing that so much of the treaty as had been agreed upon by both powers, should be at once made effective without waiting for agreement upon other points. But to this Mr. Olney objected, as he was unwilling to agree except to questions materially affecting honor or integrity, unless the right of deciding what questions had such an effect was formally vested in Parliament on one side and Congress on the other. A further attempt was made to come to an agreement by Lord Salisbury, who proposed that a protested award should be allowed to stand, unless a tribunal of five Supreme Court Judges of the protesting country should set it aside for some error of fact or some error in law. Mr. Olney replied to this by intimating his preference for Lord Salisbury's original proposal if it were modified, so that instead of the award falling to the ground unless it was proved by a majority of five to one, it should stand, unless it were condemned by a majority of five to one.

*How to Settle
the
Controversy.*

This question of the Court of Appeal, its constitution, or the majority of members which may decide questions brought before it, is a matter of detail upon which it is impossible to doubt an agreement could speedily be arrived at, provided the one question which is constantly before Lord Salisbury's mind is satisfactorily removed from the jurisdiction of the courts. Lord Salisbury dreads the possibility of a foreign jurist being authorized to vote away here or there what he regards as inseparable portions of the Empire. Hence arise all the difficulties which he has made concerning the reference of territorial ques-

tions to the tribunal. But Mr. Olney has given him an opening of which he should be able to take prompt advantage. "What territorial controversies," he asks, "are likely to be raised between the United States and Great Britain?" With the exception of a small corner of Alaska, there are no territorial questions at issue between the two governments; "the objection, therefore, is of a highly fanciful character." Now in the general treaty of arbitration drawn up between the United States and the Central and South American Republics, it is expressly stipulated that no question upon which a decision has already been arrived at should be raised before the tribunal of arbitration. For the avoidance of any misunderstanding and the deliverance of Lord Salisbury from the fear he entertains as to the raising of territorial questions, would it not be a simple and practical solution of the difficulty to add a clause to the arbitration treaty, providing that neither power shall raise before the arbitral tribunal any questions as to its right over the territories which at the time of the signing of the treaty were recognized as their rightful possessions, as shown by maps annexed thereto? Each power could thereupon secure from the other a definite and final recognition of its right to all the territory now under the Union Jack on the one side and the Stars and Stripes on the other; and the arbitral tribunal would be barred in advance from entertaining any question brought forward by either nation for the annexation or invasion of the territory of the other; unless, at least, that territory was acquired subsequently to the date of the signing of the treaty.

*Dr. Jameson's
Conviction.*

In England the chief interest of last month was excited by the trial and sentence of Dr. Jameson and his officers. The case was heard at bar by the Lord Chief Justice, Baron Pollock, and Mr. Justice Hawkins. It is almost the first opportunity that Lord Russell has had of showing that he has in him the capacity to be as great a judge as he had been an advocate. The Attorney-General prosecuted, Sir Edward Clarke defended. All the facts relating to the raid were fully gone into, all legal difficulties were brushed aside, and after a trial which lasted seven days, the jury found what was equivalent to a verdict of guilty against all the defendants. The trial was Lord Russell's throughout, and in his summing-up he pressed the case against the prisoners with far more convincing effect than the Attorney-General himself. The jury were shut up to "yes" or "no" answers to four or five propositions, and by this means a verdict was secured against all the defendants. "Dr. Jim" was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment without hard labor, Sir John Willoughby to ten months, and the others to shorter terms of imprisonment. The punishment is light, in comparison with the offense, but the principle at stake is vindicated.



THE JUDGES AT THE JAMESON TRIAL.

*The
Parliamentary
Inquiry.*

It is much to be desired, but hardly to be expected, that the result of the Parliamentary inquiry which Mr. Chamberlain was induced to promise at the beginning of the Session, and which now stands over for fulfillment at the beginning of next, will terminate in a fashion that redounds equally to the credit of the British name. Mr. Rhodes, who is still in the heart of rebellious Matabeleland, has offered to come home to take his trial if his prosecution should be deemed desirable. He will in any case have to return to be examined by the parliamentary committee. The report of the Cape Commission of Inquiry into the raid comes very near the truth, and the whole truth, so far as Mr. Rhodes is concerned.

*The
Rebellion in
Rhodesia.*

Fighting has been going on in Matabeleland with no decisive results. The real difficulty with which Rhodesia has to contend is not hostile natives, but the impossibility of obtaining supplies of food, owing to the fact that the rinderpest has killed nine out of every ten oxen which would otherwise have been employed in hauling food north from Mafeking. In reply to the clamor for the despatch of more troops to enable Sir Frederick Carrington to restore order, the government has the unanswerable reply that it has more men there than it can feed already. A line of light railway from Bulawayo would be more useful than an army corps.

*The
Socialist
Congress.*

The International Congress of Trade Unionists and Socialists met at the Queen's Hall, London, in midsummer, and held several sittings for the purpose of discussing the best methods of inaugurating the millenium on socialist lines. As might be expected, when the most earnest and uncompromising idealists in Europe are gathered together under one roof for the purpose of deciding the shortest cut to Utopia, the proceedings were neither as quiet nor as orderly as a Quaker meeting. Several free fights were fought

over the question of credentials and the position of the Anarchists' delegates. When it came to the passing of resolutions, the British representatives were frequently outvoted. This was especially the case in regard to the agrarian question. The British minority proposed three approximately practical resolutions, one of which was that an elementary knowledge of agriculture should be taught in all public schools, and that there should be universally established an efficient system of technical education in agriculture. This was rejected. A warm debate took place "as to whether the labor party should act independently of all political parties." Ultimately the doctrine of independent action was approved of by a large majority.

*The
Powers and
Crete.*

While the International Socialists were holding a stormy debate in London, the International Concert of European Powers was beginning to discover that it would have to reconsider its attitude of abstention in Turkey. The Cretan insurrection refused to die down, and the Powers were said to be in consultation for the establishment of a naval cordon around the revolted island. Rumors are rife as to a change in the attitude of Russia, which is hoped for, and which may not be unreasonably expected, owing to the ties that unite the Russian and British ruling families. It is very curious to note the disinclination of many Englishmen to take any action in Crete, on the ground that England is so suspected by foreign powers. But this is the very argument that was brought forward by Russia to justify her inaction in Armenia. There are symptoms that the insurrectionary movement is spreading to Macedonia, and Austria is naturally becoming seriously alarmed. It is to be hoped that, despite the temptation to pay off Germany and Russia in their own coin, the British government will energetically support every effort to compel the Sultan to abstain from harrying his unfortunate subjects in Crete or anywhere else.

*The
Ministry Losing
Ground.*

The position of the British Tory ministry at the close of its first session is not so strong as it was when it opened. An impression has gained ground that it is unlucky. The Conservative papers, headed by the *Times*, have displayed an extraordinary freedom of criticism as to the shortcomings of the administration. The House of Commons has realized as it never did before how easy-going, not to say happy-go-lucky, a leader it has in Mr. Balfour, and by elections have indicated the turning of the tide. Liberals are in good spirits, and if they would but agree to unite on a vigorous campaign in the recess, in favor of improving the education of the people, they would have a much better position next year than they have had this. In the interests of the government itself, as Mr. Balfour frankly admitted, it is much to be desired that the opposition should be stronger than

it was left at the close of the last general election. The following caricature, reproduced from *Punch*, fairly indicates the general derision which England is heaping upon the sorry outcome of the Salisbury cabinet's first session.



LORD SALISBURY AS "JOHNNY GILPIN."—From *Punch*.

"The horse who never in that sort
Had handled been before,
What thing upon his back he'd got
Did wonder more and more."

The
Irish Land
Bill.

In Parliament there was little under discussion in the closing days, excepting the Irish Land bill. This measure, which more than once was in imminent danger of perishing under the amendments of its authors and the opposition of its friends, weathered the storm, and figured in the Queen's speech as one of the few measures which escaped destruction. Ministers suffered somewhat in prestige owing to the frequent changes of front on this question; changes necessitated by the varying degrees of pressure which were brought to bear on them by the Irish landlords in the first place, and Mr. T. W. Russell, on behalf of the Ulster tenants, on the other. Ultimately, after one impressive scene in Parliament, in which Mr. Balfour succeeded in rehabilitating his somewhat damaged reputation as a leader by the genuine fervor of his reply to Mr. Carson, the bill got through, and at the last moment it was reluctantly agreed to in the House of Landlords.

The
Revival of
Rural England.

The Light Railway bill and the measure legalizing the use of motor carriages on the highways, both of which were passed into law last month, are two measures which will probably have much greater influence upon the prosperity of England's rural districts than the Agricultural Rating bill. Severe as are the sufferings of many of the landlords and farmers from falling prices and foreign competition, there is one thing more needful than any relief from rates, and that is to give the children in the country districts an education which will enable them to hold their own in the struggle of life. The condition of education in rural England is deplorable indeed, and unfortunately the natural leaders of the people in the English counties have by no means entirely lost the idea that a dame's school which would teach the A, B, C, and the Church Catechism, is quite good enough for the children of the laborers.

India's
Responsibility
for Africa.

The conduct of the British ministry in insisting that India should contribute £35,000 a year to the cost of the Sepoys now garrisoned at Suakin for the Egyptian government, was roundly assailed in both Houses of Parliament. India is becoming more and more the most convenient base from which England can operate on the East African littoral. It is quite possible that as Nyassaland is policed by Sikhs from Northern India, so Rhodesia may come to regard Bombay rather than Cape Town as its commercial capital. Hence the need for great vigilance in protecting the Indian Exchequer from the risk of having to finance military expeditions which will be necessary time and again for the maintenance of British authority in Eastern Africa.



JOHN BULL: "I'm going to borrow some of your soldiers for a few months—a little affair in Egypt, you know—but you will continue to pay them."

INDIA: "But the Sahib is great, and rich, and generous. Surely he would not make us pay, we are so poor."

JOHN BULL: "Certainly you must pay for them. I am doing this little war on—er—strictly economical principles, and you must remember that you will be carrying out the magnificent idea of the unity of the Empire."

From *Picture-Politics*.



From the Journal.

THE HEAT WAVE OF AUGUST.

The Hot Wave of August. The extreme heat of August, which continued from early in the month to about the 17th, was for a large portion of the United States the most trying and disastrous experience of a climatic sort with which the country has been visited in our generation. The death rate in the large cities increased alarmingly, and for some days in New York it ran up from the normal rate of 20 per 1,000 per annum, to nearly 50 per 1,000. Many hundreds of people died in New York City alone from sunstroke and heat prostration, while thousands of others were more or less seriously affected. Hundreds of horses fell dead in the streets, and the ordinary municipal means for the removal of such animals totally failed. In the intense glare of the sun, which at the pavement level must have brought the thermometer to a point well above 120 degrees, the decomposition of dead horses proceeded with terrific rapidity; and inasmuch as two or three days elapsed in scores or hundreds of instances before the removal could be effected, the serious nature of the nuisance can be better imagined than described. It suffices to remark that the service of removal of dead animals from the streets is in the hands of a private contractor rather than directly in charge of the municipal authorities. If it had belonged to Col. Waring's street cleaning department, means would unquestionably have been found to meet the emergency promptly.

Municipal Progress in New York. In other respects the City of New York bore its fearful plague of heat in a manner which reflected the most distinguished credit upon the present administration. Heretofore, in comparable periods of extreme summer heat, the mortality of infants and small children has been the saddest feature of the increased death rate. This year the comparative smallness of the death rate among infants was too conspicuous a fact to be attributed to anything else except noteworthy improvements in the sanitary condition and administration of the great city. The unwonted cleanliness of streets, courts and passageways in the crowded

tenement districts had much to do, not only with making life endurable, but also with the actual preservation of life. Furthermore, the recent severity of the health department in all such matters as, for example, the adulteration of the milk supply, had produced a most beneficent state of affairs. Public or quas-public milk stations were kept open all night during the heated term, and it became possible to procure sterilized and perfectly healthy milk, fresh and of normal richness, for the needs of tenement-house children. Only those who have not neglected to inform themselves concerning the relations of a proper milk supply, in the summer months, to the mortality of children in congested city districts, can wholly comprehend the immense significance of the vast improvement in this matter which had come about in New York City under the auspices of the health department and the zeal of private philanthropists. All departments of the city government, with the earnest approval of Mayor Strong, united in doing everything possible for the comfort of the masses. The park department, contrary to its ordinary rules, threw the parks and public squares open at night, so that many thousands who were unable to endure the stifling heat of their overcrowded tenements, found comfort in sleeping on the grass in the open air. The city appropriated some thousands of dollars, at the height of the distress, for the purchase of ice to be distributed freely



EAST LONDON WATER SUPPLY.

COMPANY'S TURNCOCK: "Now look 'ere, don't you go a wastin' all this 'ere valuable water in washin' and waterin' your gardens, or any nonsense o' that sort, or you'll get yourselves into trouble!"—From *Punch* (London).

by direction of President Roosevelt of the Police Board. Meanwhile, the *World* was managing a free ice fund which was of the highest utility. The water department adopted the plan of flooding the streets and gutters in the tenement house districts with great streams of fresh, cool Croton water, and hundreds of men and women, not to mention thousands of children, literally laid down in the streets to enjoy the refreshing stream that flowed from the hydrants. This policy was in marked contrast to that which the water companies of London have been enforcing this season,—a policy well shown in the cartoon (see page 273) which we reproduce from *Punch*. The free summer baths along the New York docks, of course, had an overwhelmingly heavy business on their hands; and the ambulance and hospital services were overwhelmed with work. In the hospitals, and in various other public places, the authorities had provided a great supply of ingeniously contrived ice-packs and ice-boxes in which persons prostrated by the heat were placed without delay. It is an interesting fact, not generally known perhaps, that on the night of the great Bryan notification meeting in Madison Square Garden, which brought together a crowd (inside and outside of the building) of not less probably than 25,000 people, a corps of police surgeons were on duty in the basement of the building with a complete paraphernalia of ice-packs, and every facility for taking care of persons overcome by the heat.

*Balloon
Voyaging.*

During the summer of 1896 the attention of geographers and of all interested in discovery and adventure in the far north has been drawn to the far famed enterprise of Dr. Andrée, the Swedish aeronaut, who has made the most careful preparations for the first serious attempt to reach the Pole by balloon. Whatever the results of his expedition may be, Dr. Andrée has

won the respect of both learned and unlearned by his thoroughly scientific methods and his resolute bearing. He has inspired confidence on every hand. The *New York Sun* is right in saying that all the world wishes Andrée well.



DR. NANSEN.

*Arctic
Discovery.*

On the 13th of August definite news was received from Dr. Nansen, the explorer, who had landed on an island off the coast of Norway after an absence in the polar regions of more than three years. The whole world was interested in the story that he had to tell; for it was a record of wonderful achievement. Nothing in the annals of Arctic exploration since the



Mr. Eckholm.



Dr. S. A. Andrée.



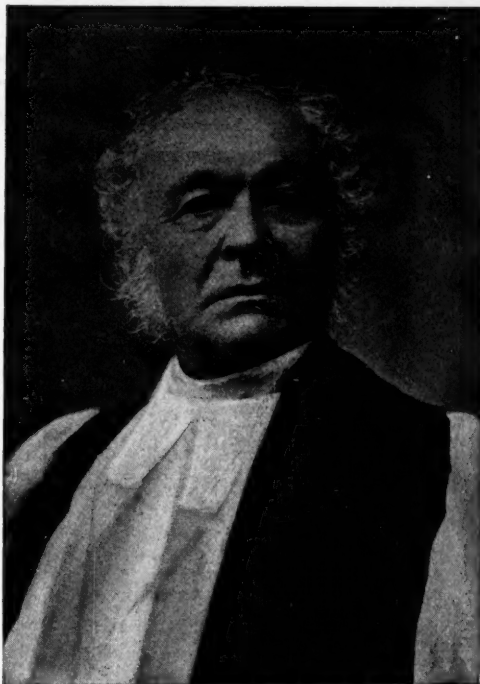
Mr. Strindberg.

DR. ANDRÉE AND HIS ASSOCIATES.

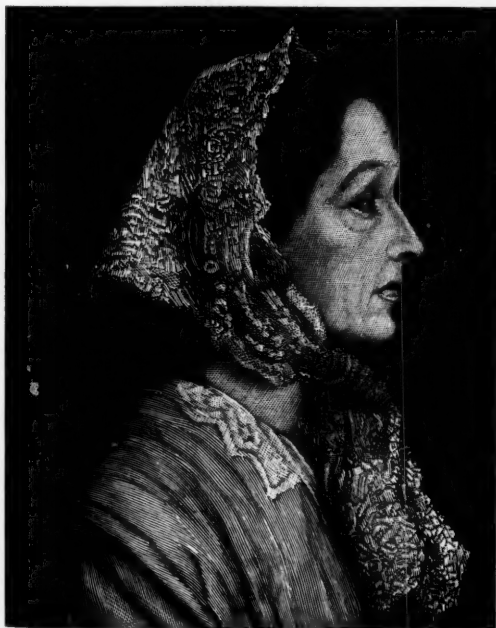
voyages which made the fame of Greely and Lockwood has done so much to revive a flagging interest in the search for the Pole. Nansen's theory of a current which would carry his vessel in the drift ice across the Pole was proven valueless, but the pluck and daring of the explorer brought results where theory failed. Leaving his vessel in the ice, Nansen pushed forward with a single sledge and canoe, and reached the latitude of 83 degrees and 14 minutes—within 225 miles of the Pole and nearly 200 miles beyond the point reached by Lockwood in 1882. During his three years' exile from civilization Nansen explored many miles of unknown coast and discovered a number of new islands.

*The Obituary
Record.*

The obituary record this month includes the names of a number of men and women famous for services to humanity in widely different spheres of usefulness. Among American clergymen who have passed away is the name of the beloved and venerated Episcopal Bishop of Western New York, the Rev. Dr. A. Cleveland Cox. Among public men is the name of ex-Senator George W. Jones of Iowa, who died at a great age. Among musicians was Mr. Frederick W. N. Crouch, who died at Portland, Maine, after a long illness, and whose chief title to fame was the composition of the song "Kathleen Mavourneen," although that was only one of a great number of his songs. Among men of large business affairs who died in the period included in our record, were Mr. Joseph W. Harper, of the publishing house of Harper & Brothers, New York, and Mr. Robert Garrett,



THE LATE BISHOP A. C. COXE.



THE LATE LADY TENNYSON.

formerly president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Mr. William Henry Smith was a distinguished journalist, who was for a long time the manager of the Associated Press. The most eminent woman whose name is found in the obituary list this month was Miss Mary Abigail Dodge, better known by her pen name of "Gail Hamilton." Miss Dodge's literary activity covered some forty years or more, and the list of her published books is a long one. Her last work of importance was the biography of James G. Blaine. She was the cousin of Mrs. Blaine, and a member of the Blaine family; and was Mr. Blaine's literary executor. She was a writer of immense verve, and delighted in controversial topics. She wrote also much and ably upon religious subjects. From England came the word that Miss Mary Dickens, the daughter of the novelist Charles Dickens, had passed away only two or three days after the death of her well known brother, Charles Dickens the Younger, who was a journalist of considerable note and a *raconteur* and public reader of exceptional charm. The death of Sir John E. Millais, president of the Royal Academy, comes lamentably soon after his election to that distinguished position, and after the death of his friend and predecessor, Sir Frederick Leighton. From Germany has come the news of the death of Herr Otto Lillienthal, the distinguished inventor, who sacrificed his life in making an experiment with his partially successful flying machine.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From July 20 to August 18, 1896.)



REV. CHARLES E. BENTLEY,
Candidate of the "National" Party for the Presidency.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

July 22.—The Populist and Silver Party national conventions meet at St. Louis.

July 23.—Senator Allen of Nebraska is chosen permanent chairman of the Populist convention at St. Louis.Missouri Republicans nominate Robert E. Lewis for Governor.

July 24.—The Populist national convention at St. Louis adopts a platform; it is decided to nominate for the Vice-Presidency first. The Silver Party convention nominate Bryan and Sewall and adjourns.A conference of "sound money" Democrats in Chicago appoints a committee to call a national convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

July 25.—The Populist national convention at St. Louis nominates William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President and Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President, and adjourns.

July 28.—Indiana Populists nominate the Rev. Thomas Wadsworth for Governor, and reject all propositions for fusion with the Democrats.

July 29.—Speaker Reed makes an important political speech in Alfred, Me.

July 31.—The Tammany Hall executive committee indorses the Chicago nominations and ignores the platform.

August 3.—In the Alabama elections for Governor, members of the Legislature and county officers, the Democrats win by a majority of more than 40,000.

August 4.—Minnesota Democrats nominate John Lind, bolting silver Republican, for Governor.

August 5.—Missouri Democrats nominate Lon V. Stevens for Governor.Nebraska Populists nominate Governor Holcomb.West Virginia Populists nominate Isaac Cox Ralphsnyder, a free silver Democrat, for Governor.Louisiana Populists put an electoral ticket in the field and indorse Bryan and Watson.

August 6.—Michigan Republicans nominate Mayor Hazen S. Pingree of Detroit for Governor.Wisconsin Republicans nominate Edward Schofield for Governor.Texas Populists nominate Jerome B. Kearby for Governor.Florida Populists nominate A. W. Weeks for Governor.Kansas Populists indorse Bryan and Sewall electors, while the Democrats indorse the Populist State ticket.Thomas E. Watson controls the State convention of the Georgia Populists.

August 7.—A call is issued for a "sound money" national Democratic convention to meet in Indianapolis, September 2, and nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

August 8.—The New Orleans City Council refuses to accept the new charter framed for the city by the Louisiana Legislature.

August 11.—Kansas Republicans renominate Gov. E. N. Morrill.

August 12.—The meeting to inform the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President of their nomination is held in Madison Square Garden, New York City; William J. Bryan and Arthur Sewall make speeches of acceptance.



HON. J. H. SOUTHGATE,
Candidate of the "National" Party for Vice-President.

August 15.—The Republican campaign in Ohio is opened by a meeting at Columbus addressed by Senator Sherman, Senator-elect Foraker, and others.

August 18.—Hon. Bourke Cockran makes a political address in New York City in reply to Mr. Bryan's speech of acceptance.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

July 20.—To facilitate discussion of the Irish land bill, the British House of Commons adopts Mr. Balfour's motion for longer sessions.

July 21.—Premier Rudini announces to the Italian Chamber of Deputies that the army estimates for 1897-98 amount to about \$48,000,000, in addition to special expenditures in Africa.

July 22.—An adverse vote in the British House of Commons causes the withdrawal by the Government of clause 24 of the Irish land bill.

July 23.—The Irish land bill is passed through the committee stage in the British House of Commons.

July 29.—The British House of Commons passes the Irish land bill.

August 5.—Serious tax riots are reported in the province of Valencia, Spain.

August 6.—The British House of Lords passes several amendments to the Irish land bill, some of which are accepted by the Government, others withdrawn, and others carried against the Government by votes of 125 to 67 and 107 to 60.

August 7.—The House of Lords passes the Irish land bill through committee.

August 10.—The Irish land bill passes third reading in the House of Lords.

August 13.—The House of Lords accepts the reamendments of the Irish Land bill made by the Commons; the measure thus becomes a law.

August 14.—The British Parliament is prorogued to October 31.

August 15.—The Bulgarian Cabinet resigns....Gen. Brousart von Schellendorf resigns as German Minister of War.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

July 20.—Venezuela's brief on the boundary dispute with Great Britain is filed with the commission in Washington.

July 21.—Commercial treaty between China and Japan signed.

July 22.—Great Britain issues another blue book on the Venezuelan dispute.

July 25.—The Cape Colony Parliament adopts the report of its committee on the Jameson raid into the Transvaal.

July 30.—President Cleveland issues a proclamation warning Cuban sympathizers in the United States not to engage in filibustering expeditions.

August 12.—The Porte refuses to make further concessions to Crete.



BRITISH WELCOME TO TWO PARTIES OF AMERICANS.

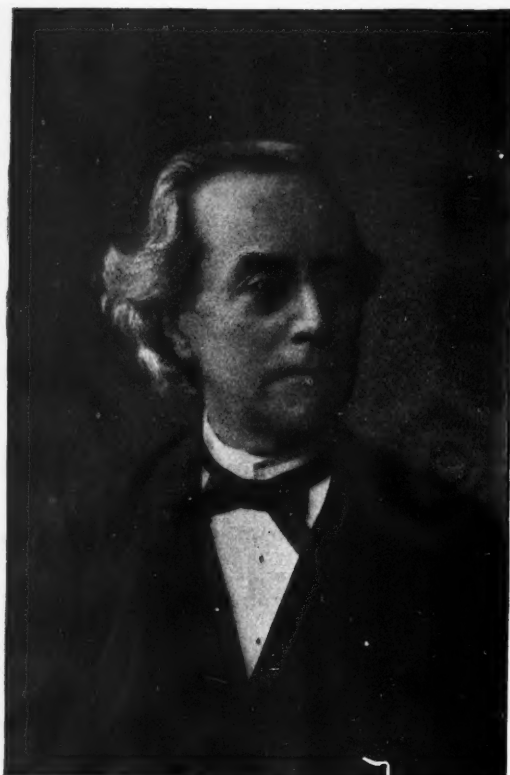
THE LOVING CUP AT HENLEY!

FATHER THAMES (drinking to the health of the Yale crew): "Here's to you, boys! Delighted to see you!"—From *Punch*.



"SPEED THE PARTING GUEST!"

J. BULL, Hon. Artillery Company of London (to Brother Gunner of the Ancient and Hon. Artillery Company of Boston): "*Au Revoir!* I hope you've had a good time in the old country!"—From *Punch*.



THE LATE ERNST CURTIUS.

(This portrait is from an excellent photograph of the great German scholar kindly loaned by Mr. Robert P. Keep of Norwich, Conn., who contributed a valuable sketch of Curtius to the *New York Evening Post* of August 1, 1896, and the *Nation* of July 30.)

August 14.—It is announced in the British House of Commons that owing to the proposal made by the United States the Venezuelan matter will soon be adjusted.

August 17.—The Rt. Hon. Sir Edmund Mouson, British Ambassador to Austria, is appointed to succeed Lord Dufferin as Ambassador to France.

INDUSTRIAL, COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL DOINGS.

July 20.—The banks of the New York Clearing House pledge \$15,000,000 to protect the United States Treasury gold reserve.

July 21.—The New York garment workers order a general strike of tailors.

July 25.—The Northern Pacific Railway is sold at auction to the reorganization.

July 28.—The firm of A. G. Elliott & Co., paper manufacturers, of Philadelphia, makes an assignment; the failure is caused by shrinkage in the value of securities held by the firm....The first bale of Georgia cotton, crop of 1896, is received in Savannah and shipped to New York.

July 31.—U. S. Treasury deficit for July, \$12,800,000.

August 1.—All the Rockefeller iron mines about Bessemer, Mich., are closed down.

August 3.—The new 800-foot lock in the Sault Ste. Marie Canal is informally opened....The Goodyear Rubber Glove & Shoe Companies of Naugatuck, Ct., employing 1,400 hands, close because of dull business.

August 4.—The failure of Moore Brothers, promoters of the Diamond Match and New York Biscuit Companies, with liabilities placed at \$8,000,000, causes the closing of the Chicago Stock Exchange.

August 6.—The closing down of the Johnson Steel Works at Lorain, Ohio, throws 800 men out of employment.

CASUALTIES.

July 21.—A cloudburst and flood in Franklin County, Kentucky, cause the loss of nine lives.

July 23.—The German gunboat *Illis* is sunk in the Yellow Sea, off the Chinese coast; 75 officers and men are lost.

July 25.—Fifty persons are killed or injured in a railway collision at Delhi, India....In Colorado, many lives are lost in cloudbursts.

July 26.—In a tidal wave off the coast of Hai-Chau, China, 4,000 persons perish and much property is destroyed.

July 27.—Fire in a Belfast shipyard causes damage estimated at \$1,250,000.

July 30.—A collision between an express train and an excursion train at a railway crossing near Atlantic City, N. J., kills 44 persons and seriously injures 43 others.

August 4.—Forty miners are buried alive as the result of a firedamp explosion in Neath, Wales.

August 8-14.—There are hundreds of deaths and prostrations resulting from the intense heat in New York City, Chicago, and other large cities.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

July 20.—The trial of Dr. Jameson and his associates is opened in London....Further massacres in Crete.

July 21.—A monument is unveiled near the grave of John Brown at North Elba, N. Y.

July 22.—Celebration of the centennial anniversary of the founding of Cleveland, Ohio... Marriage of Princess Maud of Wales to Prince Charles of Denmark at Buckingham Palace.

July 23.—Several advocates of the single tax in Wilmington, Del., are arrested and imprisoned for obstructing the highways.

July 25.—The British troops near Bulawayo, South Africa, meet with a reverse.

July 26.—International peace demonstration in Hyde Park, London....Prince Maximilian of Saxony is ordained a priest.

July 27.—The International Socialist Workers' Congress opens in London....Professor Andrée's balloon is reported filled and ready to start on its proposed polar voyage.

July 28.—Dr. Jameson and his officers in the Transvaal raid are found guilty in the British High Court of Justice, and sentenced to imprisonment.

August 7.—The *St. Louis* of the American Line makes the passage from Southampton to Sandy Hook in 6 days, 2 hours and 8 minutes.

August 9.—During the Christian Alliance convention

at Old Orchard, Me., the sum of \$101,500 is given and subscribed for missionary work in Africa and Asia.

August 12.—The assassin of the Shah of Persia is hanged in Teheran.

August 13.—Dr. Nansen, the Arctic explorer, arrives at Vordøe, one of the islands of Norway, and reports having reached 86 degrees and 14 minutes of north latitude.

August 14.—The steamship *St. Paul* of the American Line crosses from Southampton to Sandy Hook in 6 days and 31 minutes, making a new record.

OBITUARY.

July 20.—Arthur Cleveland Coxe, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Western New York, 78....Charles Dickens, son of the novelist, 59....Thomas G. Weir, M.D., 84.



THE LATE GEN. G. W. JONES
OF IOWA.

July 21.—Joseph Wesley Harper, publisher, 66....Mrs. Josephine Hoey, actress, 72....Dr. Edward Gutmann, art collector, of New York City, 68.

July 22.—Gen. George Wallace Jones, first United States Senator from Iowa, who served in Congress with Zachary Taylor, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, and Franklin Pierce, 92.

July 23.—Senator Seraphin Eugène Spuller, former Minister of Public Instruction and Minister of Foreign

Affairs of France, 60... Adolph Ebeling, German author, 69....Mary Dickens, daughter of the novelist, 58....Allen Pringle, leading beekeeper of Ontario.

July 24.—Thomas Augustus Wolstenholm Parker, sixth Earl of Macclesfield, 85.

July 27.—William Henry Smith, lately general manager of the Associated Press....Jean Baptiste Nicolas Coomans, the Belgian publicist, 83.

July 28.—Dr. James A. S. Grant (Grant Bey), 56.

July 29.—Robert Garrett, former president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, 49....Ex-Congressman Harrison H. Wheeler of Michigan....Gen. Raleigh Colston of the Confederate service, 71.

July 31.—Judge George M. Carpenter of the U. S. District Court for Rhode Island.

August 1.—Mason P. Mills, a prominent Iowa lawyer, 53.

August 3.—Sir William Robert Grove, the British physicist, 85.

August 4.—John Duane Park, former Chief Justice of Connecticut, 77....Prof. Daniel B. Hagar, a well-known Massachusetts educator, 76.

August 5.—Ex-Governor George T. Anthony of Kansas, 73.

August 6.—Judge Samuel Shellabarger of Washington, D. C., 78.

August 8.—Dean Charles H. Gardner of the Trinity Cathedral (Protestant Episcopal), Omaha, Neb., 46....Mrs. Susan N. Carter, for 25 years head of the Cooper Union Art School, New York City, 60....Ex-Congressman Calvin C. Chaffee of Springfield, Mass., 85....Judge Alfred Delavan Thomas of the United States Circuit Court, 58.

August 9.—Judge Alonzo J. Edgerton of South Dakota....Ex-Justice William J. Gilmore of Ohio, 73....The Earl of Limerick, 56.

August 10.—Baroness Tennyson, widow of the late Poet Laureate.

August 11.—Herr Otto Lilienthal, builder of flying machines, 46.

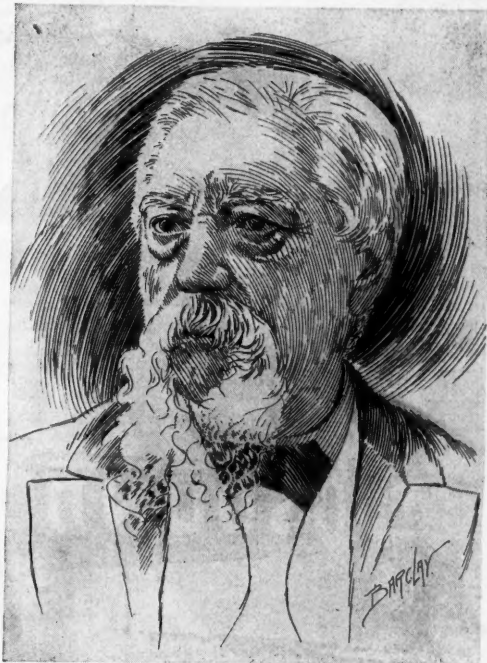
August 12.—Prof. Hubert Anson Newton of Yale, 66....Patrick C. Keely, the pioneer Roman Catholic architect of America, 80.

August 13.—Sir John Everett Millais, president of the Royal Academy, 66.

August 14.—Olin Levi Warner, American sculptor, 53....Prof. Albert Nelson Prentiss of Cornell, 60.

August 17.—Mary Abigail Dodge ("Gail Hamilton"), American author, 66.

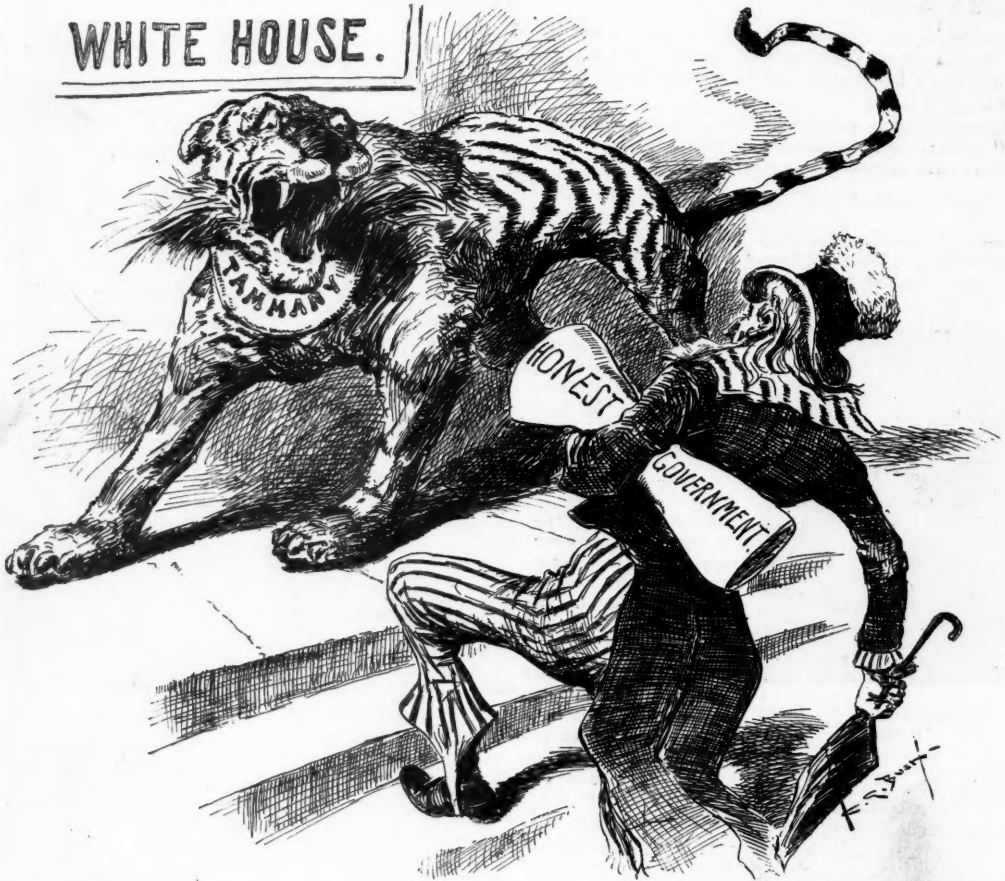
August 18.—Frederick William Nicholls Crouch, composer of "Kathleen Mavourneen," 88.



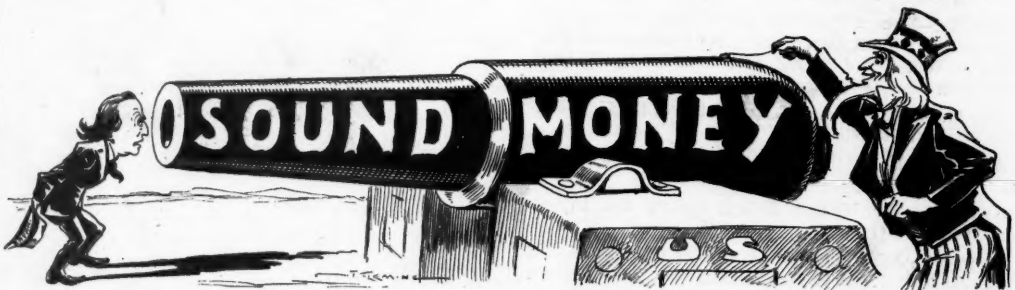
THE LATE FREDERICK W. N. CROUCH,
Composer of "Kathleen Mavourneen."

CURRENT POLITICS IN CARICATURE.

WHITE HOUSE.



THE SAME OLD BEAST.—From the *Herald* (New York).



LOOKING INTO THE ENEMY'S COUNTRY.

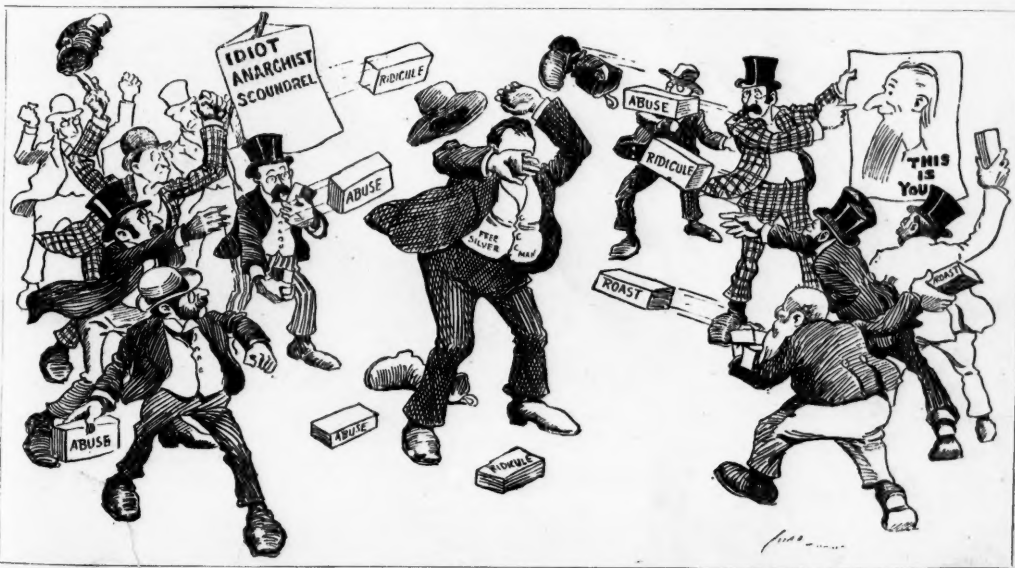
UNCLE SAM: "I'm a pretty good blower myself."—From the *Commercial Advertiser* (New York).

U.S. MINT.

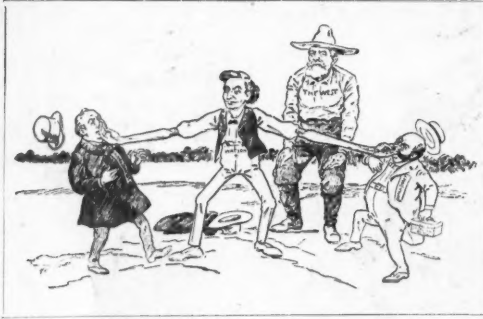
FREE COINAGE.



IF THE DOLLAR IS ALL RIGHT, HOW ABOUT THE BOOTS?—From the *Herald* (New York).



TRYING TO CONVINCE THE FREE SILVER MAN THAT HE IS WRONG.—From the *Record* (Chicago).



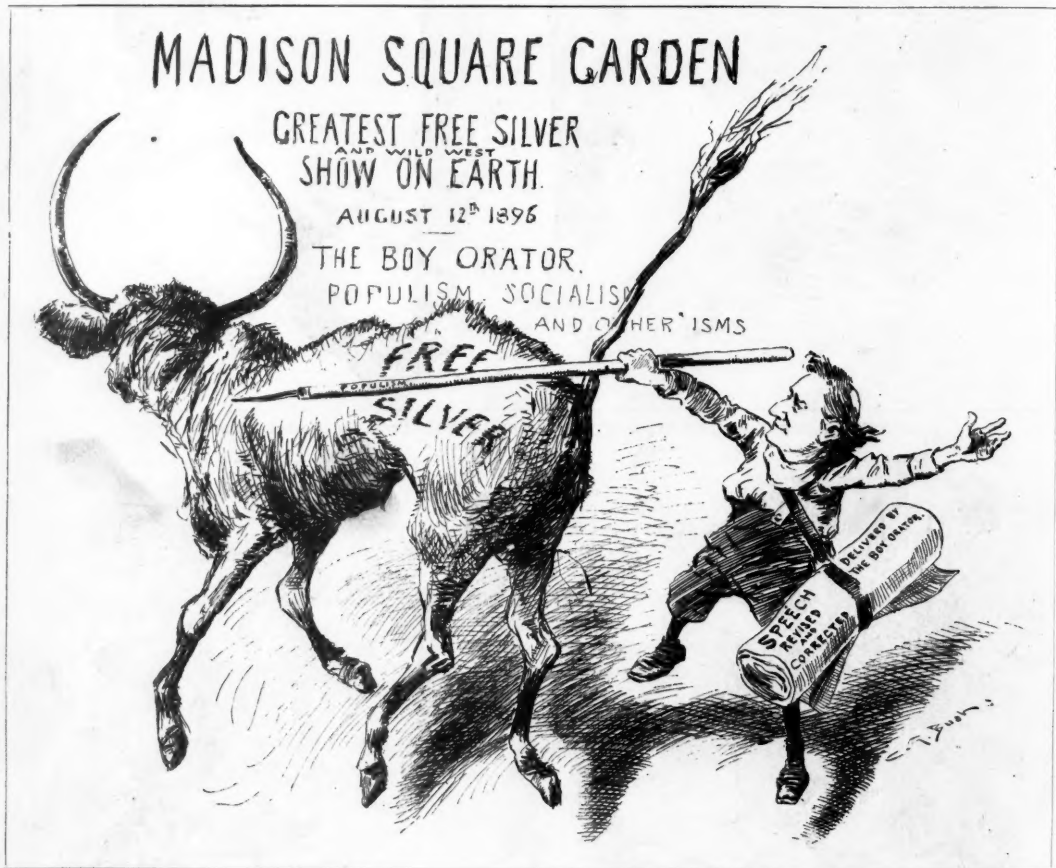
Candidate Watson's idea of a "good thing" with the West as a backer.

From the *Times-Herald* (Chicago).



MR. BRYAN: "I am sorry I hitched up that steer."

From the *Times-Herald* (Chicago).



EASTWARD HO !

From the *Herald* (New York).



THE ASSASSIN.

From Judge (New York).



THE IDOLATERS.

From Judge (New York).



THE FREE SILVER MOUSE.

SILVERITE: "Dad blow my whiskers, if it don't skeer the life out of her."

From the Journal (New York).



"LOB' SAKES, KIN I KEEP 'EM ALL IN?"

From the Journal (New York).



It is true that a few of your financiers would fashion a new figure - a figure representing Columbia, her hands bound fast with fetters of gold and her face turned toward the east, appealing for assistance to those who live beyond the sea - but this figure can never express your idea of this nation.

W. J. Bryan

COLUMBIA IN FETTERS.—From the Journal (New York).



THE NATIONAL FLOWER.

Which Shall It Be, Golden Rod or Daisy?
From the *Times-Herald* (Chicago).



MAKING IT HARD FOR THE BOY EQUESTRIAN.

From the *Press* (New York).



HANNA: "He Didn't Know His Business."

From the *Journal* (New York).



NO PLUTOCRATIC PLAID FOR UNCLE SAM.
From the *Journal* (New York).



STOP THIEF !
From the *Herald* (New York).



THE DEMOCRATIC "WHAT-IS-IT."

BRYAN: "How can I ride the confounded thing, anyway?
From *Judge* (New York).



AS THE BOY ORATOR WOULD HAVE IT.

From the *Press* (New York).



BRYAN IN "THE HANDS OF HIS FRIENDS," JONES AND GORMAN.
From the *Telegram* (New York).



THE MAN WHO PULLS THE STRING.—THE MINE OWNER.
From the *Press* (New York).

A NEW YORK SERENADE.

MESSRS. CLEVELAND, WHITNEY AND HILL
TO MR. HANNA: "We love you better than you
know."

From the *Journal* (New York).



THE THREE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

AND WHAT THEY REPRESENT.

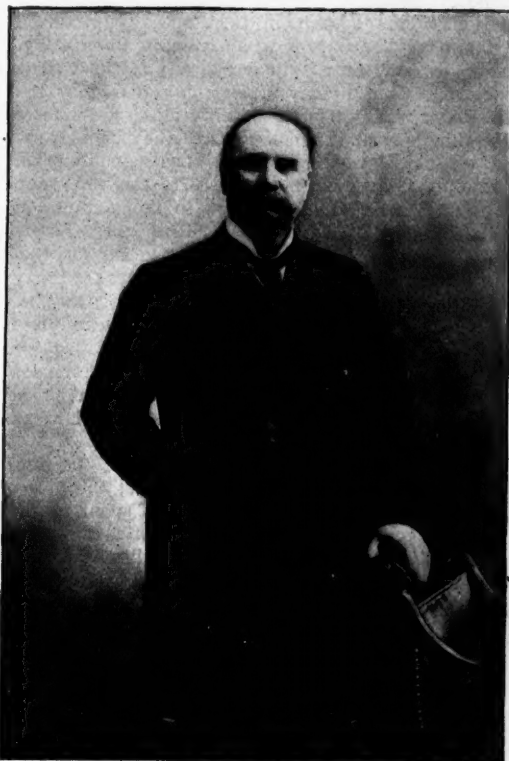
BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE Vice-President is an officer unique in his character and functions, or, to speak more properly, in his want of functions while he remains Vice-President, and in his possibility of at any moment ceasing to be a functionless official and becoming the head of the whole nation. There is no corresponding position in any constitutional government. Perhaps the nearest analogue is the heir apparent in a monarchy. Neither the French President nor the British Prime Minister has a substitute, ready at any moment to take his place, but exercising scarcely any authority until his place is taken. The history of such an office is interesting, and the personality of the incumbent for the time being may at any moment become of vast importance.

The founders of our government—the men who did far more than draw up the Declaration of Independence, for they put forth the national constitution—in many respects builded very wisely of set purpose. In some cases they built wiser than they knew. In yet other instances they failed entirely to achieve objects for which they had endeavored to provide by a most elaborate and ingenious governmental arrangement. They distrusted what would now be called pure democracy, and they dreaded what we would now call party government.

Their distrust of Democracy induced them to construct the electoral college for the choice of a President, the original idea being that the people should elect their best and wisest men who in turn should, untrammelled by outside pressure, elect a president. As a matter of fact the functions of the electorate have now by time and custom become of little more importance than those of so many letter carriers. They deliver the electoral votes of their states just as a letter carrier delivers his mail. But in the presidential contest this year it may be we shall see a partial return of the ideals of the men of 1789; for some of the electors on the Bryan-Sewall-Watson ticket may exercise a choice between the vice-presidential candidates.

The distrust felt by the founders of the constitution for party government took shape in the scheme to provide that the majority party should have the foremost place, and the minority party the second place, in the national executive. The man who received the greatest number of electoral votes was made President, and the man who received the second greatest number was made Vice-President, on a theory somewhat akin to that by which certain reformers hope to revolutionize our



HON. GARRET A. HOBART.

From his latest photograph, by Davis & Sanford, New York.

system of voting at the present day. In the early days under the present constitution this system resulted in the choice of Washington for President and of his antitype Jefferson as Vice-President, the combination being about as incongruous as if we should now see McKinley President and either Bryan or Watson Vice President. Even in theory such an arrangement is very bad, because under it the Vice President might readily be, and as a matter of fact was, a man utterly opposed to all the principles to which the President was devoted, so that the arrangement provided in the event of the death of the President, not for a succession, but for a revolution. The system was very soon dropped, and each party nominated its own candidates for both

positions. But it was many years before all the members of the electoral college of one party felt obliged to cast the same votes for both President and Vice-President, and consequently there was a good deal of scrambling and shifting in taking the vote. When, however, the parties had crystallized into Democratic and Whig, a score of years after the disappearance of the Federalists, the system of party voting also crystallized. Each party then as a rule nominated one man for President and one for Vice-President, these being voted for throughout the nation. This system in turn speedily produced strange results, some of which remain to this day. There are and must be in every party factions. The victorious faction may crush out and destroy the others, or it may try to propitiate at least its most formidable rival. In consequence the custom grew of offering the vice-presidency as a consolation prize, to be given in many cases to the very men who were most bitterly opposed to the nomination of the successful candidate for President. Sometimes this consolation prize was awarded for geographical reasons, sometimes to bring into the party men who on points of principle might split away because of the principles of the presidential candidate himself, and at other times it was awarded for merely factional reasons to some faction which did not differ in the least from the dominant faction in matters of principle, but had very decided views on the question of offices.

The presidency being all important, and the vice-presidency of comparatively little note, the entire strength of the contending factions is spent in the conflict over the first, and very often a man who is most anxious to take the first place will not take the second, preferring some other political position. It has thus frequently happened that the two candidates have been totally dissimilar in character and even in party principle, though both running on the same ticket. Very odd results have followed in more than one instance.

A striking illustration of the evils sometimes springing from this system is afforded by what befel the Whigs after the election and death of the elder Harrison. Translated into the terms of the politics of continental Europe of to-day, Harrison's adherents represented a union between the right and the extreme left against the centre. That is, the regular Whigs who formed the bulk of his supporters were supplemented by a small body of extremists who in their political principles were even more alien to the Whigs than were the bulk of the regular Democrats, but who themselves hated these regular Democrats with the peculiar ferocity so often felt by the extremists for the man who goes far, but not quite far enough. In consequence the President represented Whig principles, the Vice-President represented a rather extreme form of the very principles to which the Whigs were most opposed. The result was that when Harrison died the presidency fell into the hands of a man who had but a

corporal's guard of supporters in the nation, and who proceeded to oppose all the measures of the immense majority of those who elected him.

A somewhat similar instance was afforded in the case of Lincoln and Johnson. Johnson was put on the ticket largely for geographical reasons, and on the death of Lincoln he tried to reverse the policy of the party which had put him in office. An instance of an entirely different kind is afforded by Garfield and Arthur. The differences between these two party leaders were mainly merely factional. Each stood squarely on the platform of the party, and all the principles advocated by one were advocated by the other; yet the death of Garfield meant a complete overturn in the *personnel* of the upper



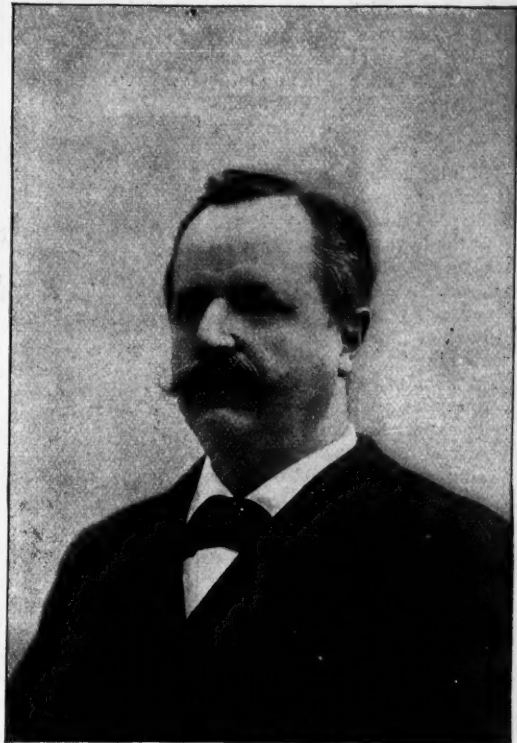
Drawn from life for the Journal by Davenport, the caricaturist.
HON. ARTHUR SEWALL.

Republican officials, because Arthur had been nominated expressly to placate the group of party leaders who most objected to the nomination of Garfield. Arthur made a very good President, but the bitterness caused by his succession to power nearly tore the party in twain. It will be noted that most of these evils arise from the fact that the Vice-President under ordinary circumstances possesses so little real power. He presides over the Senate and he has in Washington a position of marked social importance, but his political weight as Vice-President is almost *nil*. There is always a chance that he may become President. As this is only a chance it seems quite impossible to persuade politicians to give it proper weight. This certainly does not seem right. The Vice-President should so far as possible represent the same views and principles which have secured the nomination and election of the President, and he should be a man standing well in the councils of the party, trusted by his fellow party leaders, and able in the event of any accident

to his chief to take up the work of the latter just where it was left. The Republican party has this year nominated such a man in the person of Mr. Hobart. But nominations of this kind have by no means been always the rule of recent years. No change of parties, for instance, could well produce a greater revolution in policy than would have been produced at almost any time during the last three years if Mr. Cleveland had died and Mr. Stevenson had succeeded him.

One sure way to secure this desired result would undoubtedly be to increase the power of the Vice-President. He should always be a man who would be consulted by the President on every great party question. It would be very well if he were given a seat in the Cabinet. It might be well if in addition to his vote in the Senate in the event of a tie he should be given a vote, on ordinary occasions, and perchance on occasions a voice in the debates. A man of the character of Mr. Hobart is sure to make his weight felt in an administration, but the power of thus exercising influence should be made official rather than personal.

The present contest offers a striking illustration of the way in which the Vice-President ought and ought not to be nominated, and to study this it is necessary to study not only the way in which the



HON. ARTHUR SEWALL.
From a recent photograph.

different candidates were nominated, but at least in outline the characters of the candidates themselves.

For the first time in many years, indeed for the first time since parties have fairly crystallized along their present lines, there are three parties running, two of which support the same presidential candidate but different candidates for the vice-presidency. Each one of these parties has carried several states during the last three or four years. Each party has a right to count upon a number of electoral votes as its own. Closely though the Democrats and Populists have now approximated in their principles as enunciated in the platforms of Chicago and St. Louis, they yet do differ on certain points, and neither would have any chance of beating the Republicans without the help of the other. The result has been a coalition, yet each party to the coalition has retained enough of its jealous individuality to make it refuse to accept the candidate of the other for the second position on the ticket.

The Republican party stands on a normal and healthy party footing. It has enunciated a definite set of principles entirely in accord with its past actions. It has nominated on this platform a President and Vice-President, both of whom are thorough-



MRS. ARTHUR SEWALL.

going believers in all the party principles set forth in the platform upon which they stand. Mr. McKinley believes in sound finance,—that is, in a currency based upon gold and as good as gold. So does Mr. Hobart. Mr. McKinley believes in a protective tariff. So does Mr. Hobart. Mr. McKinley believes in the only method of preserving orderly liberty,—that is, in seeing that the laws are enforced at whatever cost. So does Mr. Hobart. In short, Mr. Hobart stands for precisely the same principles that are represented by Mr. McKinley. He is a man of weight in the community, who has had wide experience both in business and in politics. He is taking an active part in the campaign, and he will be a power if elected to the vice-presidency. All the elements which have rallied behind Mr. McKinley are just as heartily behind Mr. Hobart. The two represent the same forces, and they stand for a party with a coherent organization and a definite purpose, to the carrying out of which they are equally pledged.

It will be a matter of much importance to the nation that the next Vice-President should stand for some settled policy. It is an unhealthy thing to have the Vice-President and President represented by principles so far apart that the succession of one to the place of the other means a change as radical

of the party that had won the victory felt that it had been treated with scandalous treachery, for Tyler grew to be as repulsive to the Whigs as Polk himself, and the Republicans could scarcely have hated



MR. WATSON IN HIS EDITORIAL ROOM

Seymour more than they hated Johnson. The Vice-President has a threefold relation. First to the administration; next as presiding officer in the Senate, where he should be a man of dignity and force; and third in his social position, for socially he ranks second to the President alone. Mr. Morton was in every way an admirable Vice-President under General Harrison, and had he succeeded to the presidential chair there would have been no break in the great policies which were being pushed forward by the administration. But during Mr. Cleveland's two incumbencies Messrs. Hendricks and Stevenson have represented, not merely hostile factions, but principles and interests from which he was sundered by a gulf quite as great as that which divided him from his normal party foes. Mr. Sewall would make a colorless Vice-President, and were he at any time to succeed Mr. Bryan in the White House would travel Mr. Bryan's path only with extreme reluctance and under duress. Mr. Watson would be a more startling, more attractive, and more dangerous figure, for if he got the chance he would lash the nation with a whip of scorpions, while Bryan would be content with the torture of ordinary thongs.

Finally, Mr. Hobart would typify as strongly as Mr. McKinley himself what was best in the Republican party and in the nation, and would stand as one of the known champions of his party on the very questions at issue in the present election. He is a man whose advice would be sought by all who



MR. WATSON'S HOME.

as any possible party overturn. The straining and dislocation of our governmental institutions was very great when Tyler succeeded Harrison and Johnson succeeded Lincoln. In each case the majority

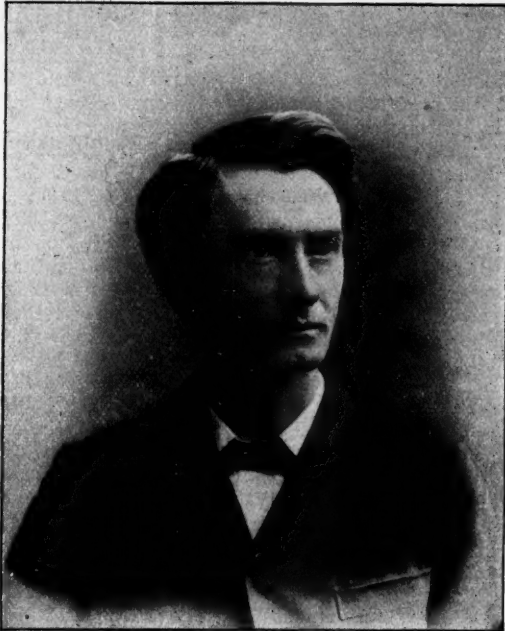


Photo by Bell.

HON. THOMAS E. WATSON.

are prominent in the administration. In short, he would be the kind of man whom the electors are certain to choose as Vice-President if they exercise their choice rationally.

The men who left the Republican party because of the nomination of McKinley would have left it just as quickly if Hobart had been nominated. They do not believe in sound finance, and though many of the bolters object to anarchy and favor protection, they feel that in this crisis their personal desires must be repressed and that they are conscientiously bound to support the depreciated dollar even at the cost of incidentally supporting the principles of a low tariff and the doctrine that a mob should be allowed to do what it likes with immunity. There are many advocates of clipped or depreciated money who are rather sorry to see the demand for such currency coupled with a demand for more lawlessness and an abandonment by the government of the police functions which are the essential attributes of civilization; but they have overcome their reluctance, feeling that on the whole it is more important that the money of the nation should be unsound than that its law should be obeyed. People who feel this way are just as much opposed to Mr. Hobart as to Mr. McKinley. They object to the platform upon which the two men stand, and they object as much to the character of one man as to the character of the other. They are repelled by McKinley's allegiance to the cause of sound money, and find nothing to propitiate them in Hobart's uncompromisingly honest attitude on the same question. There is no reason

whatever why any voter who would wish to vote against the one should favor the other, or *vice versa*.

When we cross the political line all this is changed. On the leading issue of the campaign the entire triangle of candidates are a unit. Mr. Bryan, the nominee for the presidency, and Messrs. Sewall and Watson, the nominees for the vice presidency, are almost equally devoted adherents of the light weight dollar and of a currency which shall not force a man to repay what he has borrowed, and shall punish the wrong headed laborer, who expects to be paid his wages in money worth something, as heavily as the business man or farmer who is so immoral as to wish to pay his debts. All three are believers in that old-world school of finance which appears under such protean changes of policy, always desiring the increase of the circulating medium, but differing as to the means, which in one age takes the form of putting base metal in with the good, or of clipping the good, and in another assumes the guise of fiat money, or the free coinage of silver. On this currency question they are substantially alike, agreeing (as one of their adherents picturesquely put it, in arguing in favor of that form of abundant currency which has as its highest exponent the money of the late Confederacy) that "the money which was good enough for the soldiers of Washington is good enough for us." As a matter of fact the soldiers of Washington were not at all grateful for the money which the loud-mouthed predecessors of Mr. Bryan and his kind then thought "good enough" for them. The money with which the veterans of Washington were



MRS. THOMAS E. WATSON.

paid was worth two cents on the dollar, and as yet neither Mr. Bryan, Mr. Sewall nor Mr. Watson has advocated a two-cent copper dollar. Still they are striving toward this ideal, and in their advocacy of the 50 cent dollar they are one.

But beyond this they begin to differ. Mr. Sewall distinctly sags behind the leader of the spike team, Mr. Bryan, and still more distinctly behind his rival, or running mate, or whatever one may choose to call him, the Hon. Tom Watson. There is far more regard for the essential fitness of things in a ticket which contains Mr. Bryan and Mr. Watson than one which contains Mr. Bryan and Mr. Sewall. Mr. Watson is a man of Mr. Bryan's type, only a little more so. But Mr. Sewall is of a different type, and possesses many attributes which must make association with him exceedingly painful, not merely to Mr. Watson, but to Mr. Bryan himself. He is a well-to-do man. Indeed in many communities he would be called a rich man. He is a banker, a railroad man, a ship-builder, and has been successful in business. Now if Mr. Bryan and Mr. Watson really stand for any principle it is hostility to this kind of success. Thrift, industry and business energy are qualities which are quite incompatible with true Populistic feeling. Payment of debts, like the suppression of riots, is abhorrent to the Populistic mind. Such conduct strikes the Populist as immoral. Mr. Bryan made his appearance in Congress with two colleagues elected on the same ticket, one of whom stated to the present writer that no honest man ever earned \$5,000 a year; that whoever got that amount stole it. Mr. Sewall has earned many times \$5,000 a year. He is a prosperous capitalist. Populism never prospers save where men are unprosperous, and your true Populist is especially intolerant of business success. If a man is a successful business man he at once calls him a plutocrat.

He makes only one exception. A miner or speculator in mines may be many times a millionaire and yet remain in good standing in the Populist party. The Populist has ineradicably fixed in his mind the belief that silver is a cheap metal and that silver money is, while not fiat money, still a long step toward it. Silver is connected in his mind with scaling down debts, the partial repudiation of obligations, and other measures aimed at those odious moneyed tyrants who lend money to persons who insist upon borrowing, or who have put their ill-gotten gains in savings banks and kindred wicked

institutions for the encouragement of the vice of thrift. These pleasurable associations quite outweigh, with the Populist, the fact that the silver man himself is rich. He is even for the moment blind to the further fact that these pro silver men, like Senator Stewart, Governor Altgeld and their compeers, strenuously insist that the obligations to themselves shall be liquidated in gold; indeed this particular idiosyncrasy of the silver leaders is not much frowned upon by the bulk of the Populists, because it has at least the merit of savoring strongly of "doing" one's creditors. Not even the fact that rich silver mine owners may have earned their money honestly can outweigh the other fact that they champion a species of currency which will

make most-thrifty and honest men poorer, in the minds of the truly logical Populist.

But Mr. Sewall has no fictitious advantage in the way of owing his wealth to silver. He has made his money precisely as the most loathed reprobate of Wall Street—or of New York, which the average Populist regards as synonymous with Wall Street—has made his. The average Populist does not draw fine distinctions. There are in New York, as in other great cities, scoundrels of great wealth who have made their money by means skillfully calculated to come just outside the line of criminality. There are other men who have made their money exactly as the successful miner or farmer makes his,—that is, by the exercise of shrewdness, business daring, energy and thrift. But the Populist draws no line of division between these two classes. They have made money, and that is enough. One may have built railroads and the other have wrecked them, but they are both railroad men in his eyes,

From a sketch by a Journal artist at the notification meeting, Aug. 12.



ARTHUR SEWALL.

and that is all. One may have swindled his creditors, and the other built up a bank which has been of incalculable benefit to all who have had dealings with it, but to the Populist they are both gold bugs, and as such noxious. Mr. Sewall is the type of man the contemplation of which usually throws a Populist orator into spasms. But it happens that he believes in free silver, just as other very respectable men believe in spirit rapping, or the faith cure, or Buddhism, or pilgrimages to Lourdes, or the foot of a graveyard rabbit. There are very able men and very lovely women who believe in each or all of these, and there are a much larger number who believe in free silver. Had they lived in the days of Sparta they would have believed in free iron, iron coin

being at that time the cheapest circulating medium, the adoption of which would give the greatest expansion of the currency. But they have been dragged on by the slow procession of the centuries, and now they only believe in free silver. It is a belief which is compatible with all the domestic virtues, and even occasionally with very good capacities as a public servant. Mr. Sewall doubtless stands as one of these men. He can hardly be happy, planted firmly as he is, on the Chicago platform. In the minds of most thrifty, hard-working men, who are given to thinking at all about public questions, the free silver plank is very far from being the most rotten of the many rotten planks put together with such perverted skill by the Chicago architects. A platform which declares in favor of free and unlimited rioting and which has the same strenuous objection to the exercise of the police power by the general government that is felt in the circles presided over by Herr Most, Eugene V. Debs, and all the people whose pictures appear in the detective bureaus of our great cities, cannot appeal to persons who have gone beyond the unpolished-stone period of civilization.

The men who object to what they style "government by injunction" are, as regards the essential principles of government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes, and ate the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros. They are interesting as representing a geological survival, but they are dangerous whenever there is the least chance of their making the principles of this ages-buried past living factors in our present life. They are not in sympathy with men of good minds and sound civic morality. It is not a nice thing to wish to pay one's debts in coins worth 50 cents on the dollar, but it is a much less nice thing to wish to plunge one's country into anarchy by providing that the law shall only protect the lawless and frown scornfully on the law-abiding. There is a good deal of mushy sentiment in the world, and there are always a certain number of people whose minds are weak and whose emotions are strong and who effervesce with sympathy toward any man who does wrong, and with indignation against any man who chastises the criminal for having done wrong. These emotionalists, moreover, are always reinforced by that large body of men who themselves wish to do wrong, and who are not sentimental at all, but, on the contrary, very practical. It is rarely that these two classes control a great political party, but at Chicago this became an accomplished fact.

Furthermore, the Chicago convention attacked the Supreme Court. Again this represents a species of atavism,—that is, of recurrence to the ways of thought of remote barbarian ancestors. Savages do not like an independent and upright judiciary. They want the judge to decide their way, and if he does not, they want to behead him. The Populists experience much the same emotions when they realize that the judiciary stands between them and plunder.

Now on all these points Mr. Sewall can hardly feel complete sympathy with his temporary allies. He is very anxious that the Populists shall vote for him for Vice-President, and of course he feels a kindly emotion toward those who do intend to vote for him. He would doubtless pardon much heresy of political belief in any member of the electoral college who feels that Sewall is his friend, not



From the N. Y. *Press*.

"COULD WILLIE BE SO HEARTLESS?"

Watson,—Codlin, not Short. He has, of course, a vein of the erratic in his character, or otherwise he would not be in such company at all, and would have no quality that would recommend him to them. But on the whole his sympathies must lie with the man who saves money rather than with the man who proposes to take away the money when it has been saved, and with the policeman who arrests a violent criminal rather than with the criminal. Such sympathy puts him at a disadvantage in the Populist camp. He is loud in his professions of belief in the remarkable series of principles for which he is supposed to stand, but his protestations ring rather hollow. The average supporter of Bryan doubtless intends to swallow Sewall, for he thinks him an unimportant tail to the Bryan kite. But, though unimportant, he regards him with a slight feeling of irritation, as being at the best a rather ludicrous contrast to the rest of the kite. He contributes no element of strength to the Bryan ticket, for other men who work hard and wish to enjoy the fruits of their toil simply regard him as a renegade, and the average Populist or Populistic Democrat does not like him, and accepts him simply because he fears not

doing so may jeopardize Bryan's chances. He is in the uncomfortable position always held by the respectable theorist who gets caught in a revolutionary movement and has to wedge nervously up into the front rank with the gentlemen who are not troubled by any of his scruples, and who really do think that it is all very fine and glorious. In fact Mr. Sewall is much the least picturesque and the least appropriate figure on the platform or platforms upon which Mr. Bryan is standing.

Mr. Watson, whose enemies now call him a Georgia cracker, is in reality a far more suitable companion for Mr. Bryan in such a contest. It must be said, however, that if virtue always received its reward Mr. Watson and not Mr. Bryan would stand at the head of the ticket. In the language of mathematicians Mr. Watson merely represents Mr. Bryan raised several powers. The same is true of the Populist as compared to the Democratic platform. Mr. Bryan may affect to believe that free silver does represent the ultimate goal, and that his friends do not intend to go further in the direction of fiat money. Mr. Watson's friends, the middle-of-the-road Populists, are much more fearless and much more logical. They are willing to accept silver as a temporary makeshift, but they want a currency based on corn and cotton next, and ultimately a currency based on the desires of the people who issue it. The statesmanlike utterance of that great financier, Mr. Bryan's chief rival for the nomination and at present his foremost supporter, Mr. Bland, to the effect that he would "wipe out the national debt as with a sponge," meets with their cordial approval as far as it goes, but they object to the qualification before the word "debt." In wiping out debts they do not wish to halt merely at the national debt. The Populists indorsed Bryan as the best they could get; but they hated Sewall so that they took the extraordinary step of nominating the Vice-President before the President, so as to make sure of a really acceptable man in the person of Watson.

With Mr. Bryan denunciation of the gold bug and the banker is largely a mere form of intellectual entertainment; but with Mr. Watson it represents an almost ferocious conviction. Some one has said that Mr. Watson, like Mr. Tillman, is an embodied retribution on the South for having failed to educate the cracker, the poor white. It would ill beseem any dweller in cities of the North, especially any dweller in the city of Tammany, to reproach the South with having failed to educate anybody. But Mr. Watson is certainly an awkward man for a community to develop. He is infinitely more in earnest than is Mr. Bryan. Mr. Watson belongs to that school of southern Populists who honestly believe that the respectable and commonplace people who own banks, railroads, dry goods stores, factories, and the like, are persons with many of the mental and social attributes that unpleasantly distinguished Heliogabalus, Nero, Caligula and other worthies of later Rome. Not only do they believe this, but they

say it with appalling frankness. They are very sincere as a rule, or at least the rank and file are. They are also very suspicious. They distrust anything they cannot understand; and as they understand but little this opens a very wide field for distrust. They are apt to be emotionally religious. If not, they are then at least atheists of an archaic type. Refinement and comfort they are apt to consider quite as objectionable as immorality. That a man should change his clothes in the evening, that he should dine at any other hour than noon, impress these good people as being symptoms of depravity instead of merely trivial. A taste for learning and cultivated friends, and a tendency to bathe frequently, cause them the deepest suspicion. A well-to-do man they regard with jealous distrust, and if they cannot be well-to-do themselves at least they hope to make matters uncomfortable for those that are. They possess many strong, rugged virtues, but they are quite impossible politically, because they always confound the essentials and the non-essentials, and though they often make war on vice, they rather prefer making war upon prosperity and refinement.

Mr. Watson was in a sense born out of place when he was born in Georgia, for in Georgia the regular Democracy, while it has accepted the principles of the Populists, has made war on their *personnel*, and in every way strives to press them down. Far better for Mr. Watson would it have been could he have been born in the adjacent state of South Carolina, where the Populists swallowed the Democrats with a gulp. Senator Tillman, the great Populist or Democratic orator from South Carolina, possesses an untrammelled tongue which doubtless Mr. Watson really envies, and moreover Mr. Tillman's brother has been frequently elected to Congress upon the issue that he never wore either an overcoat or an undershirt, an issue which any Populist statesman finds readily comprehensible, and which he would recognize at first glance as being strong before the people. It needs a certain amount of mental subtlety to appreciate that it is for one's interest to support a man because he is honest and has broad views about coast defenses and the navy, and other similar subjects; but it does not need any mind at all to have one's prejudices stirred in favor of a statesman whose claim to the title rests upon his indifference to the requirements of civilized dress.

Altogether Mr. Watson, with his sincerity, his frankness, his extreme suspiciousness, and his uncouth hatred of anything he cannot understand and of all the elegancies and decencies of civilized life, is an interesting personage. He represents the real thing, while Bryan after all is more or less a sham and a compromise. Mr. Watson would at a blow destroy all banks and bankers, with a cheerful, albeit vague, belief that thereby he was in some abstruse way benefiting the people at large. And he would do this with the simple sincerity and faith of an African savage who tries to benefit his tribe by a sufficiency of human sacrifices. But Mr. Bryan

would be beset by ugly doubts when he came to put into effect all the mischievous beliefs of his followers, and Mr. Sewall would doubtless be frankly miserable if it ever became necessary for him to take a lead in such matters. Mr. Watson really ought to be the first man on the ticket, with Mr. Bryan second; for he is much the superior in boldness, in thoroughgoing acceptance of his principles according to their logical conclusions, and in sincerity of faith. It is impossible not to regret that the Democrats and Populists should not have put forward in the first place the man who genuinely represents their ideas.

However, it is even doubtful whether Mr. Watson will receive the support to which he is entitled as a vice-presidential candidate. In the South the Populists have been so crushed under the heel of the Democrats, and have bitten that heel with such eager venom, that they dislike entering into a coalition with them; but in the South the Democrats will generally control the election machinery. In the far West, and generally in those states where the Populist wing of the new alliance is ascendant, the Populists have no especial hatred of the Democrats. They know that their principles are substantially identical, and they think it best to support the man who seems to represent the majority faction among the various factions that stand behind Bryan.

As a consequence of this curious condition of affairs there are several interesting possibilities open. The electoral college consists of the men elected at the polls in the various states to record the decrees of the majorities in those states, and it has grown to be an axiom of politics that they must merely register the will of the men who elected them. But it does seem possible that in the present election some of the electors at least may return to the old principles of a century ago and exercise at least a limited discretion in casting their votes. In a state like Nebraska, for instance, it looks as though it would be possible that the electoral ticket on the anti-Republican side would be composed of four Bryan and Watson men and four Bryan and Sewall men. Now in the event of Bryan having more votes than McKinley—that is, in the event of the country showing strong Bedlamite tendencies next November—it might be that a split between Sewall and Watson would give a plurality to Hobart, and in such event it is hardly conceivable that some of the electors would not exercise their discretion by changing their votes. If they did not we might then again see a return to the early and profoundly interesting practice of our fathers and witness a President chosen by one party and a Vice-President by the other.

I wish it to be distinctly understood, however, that these are merely interesting speculations as to what might occur in a hopelessly improbable contingency. I am a good American, with a profound belief in my countrymen, and I have no idea that they will deliberately lower themselves to a level

beneath that of a South American Republic by voting for the preposterous farrago of sinister nonsense which the Populistic-Democratic politicians at Chicago chose to set up as embodying the principles



of their party, and for the amiable and windy demagogue who stands upon that platform. Many entirely honest and intelligent men have been misled by the silver talk, and have for the moment joined the ranks of the ignorant, the vicious and the wrong headed. These men of character and capacity are blinded by their own misfortunes, or their own needs, or else they have never fairly looked into the matter for themselves, being, like most men, whether in "gold" or "silver" communities, content to follow the opinion of those they are accustomed to trust. After full and fair inquiry these men, I am sure, whether they live in Maine, in Tennessee, or in Oregon, will come out on the side of honest money. The shiftless and vicious, and the honest but hopelessly ignorant and puzzle-headed voters cannot be reached; but the average farmer, the average business man, the average workman—in short, the average American—will always stand up for honesty and decency when he can once satisfy himself as to the side on which they are to be found.



Drawn for the Journal.

"SOME OF THE 'ANARCHISTS' WHO RAISE OUR WHEAT AND WHO WILL VOTE FOR BRYAN."

THE POPULISTS AT ST. LOUIS.

BY HENRY D. LLOYD.

THE People's Party has "shot the chutes" of fusion and landed in the deep waters of Democracy as the Independent Republican movement of 1872 did. Nearly all the reform parties of the last generation have had the same fate. Democracy is that bourne from which no reform party returns—as yet. The Independent Republicans organized as a protest against corruption in the administration of the national government and to secure tariff reform on free trade lines. Unlike the People's Party, theirs began its career under the leadership of some of the most distinguished men in the nation. Among them were Hon. David A. Wells, who had been United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue; Ex-Governor Hoadley of Ohio; E. L. Godkin, editor of the *New York Nation*; Horace White, then of the *Chicago Tribune*; Ex-Governor Randolph of New Jersey; the Hon. J. D. Cox, who had been Secretary of the Interior; Edward Atkinson of Boston; the Hon. Carl Schurz. It was the expectation of most of these gentlemen and their followers that the Cincinnati convention would nominate Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts, our great War Minister at the Court of St. James, for President, and that with his election and a Congress pledged to civil service reform and revenue tariff the country would enter upon a new era of purity and prosperity. The revulsion when their free trade egg hatched out Horace Greeley was comparable only to that of the gold and machine Democrats at Chicago at the nomination of Bryan and the adoption of the anti-Cleveland and pro-silver platform. The People's Party had no men of national prestige to give its birth *éclat*. It has been from the beginning what its name implies—a party of the people.

One of the principal sources was the Farmers' Alliance. To President Polk of that body more than to any other single individual it owes its existence. The agrarian element has been predominant throughout its career. One of its best representatives in this convention was the temporary chairman—the Hon. Marion Butler, the handsome young farmer of North Carolina. Too young to be a candidate for President or Vice-President, he has worked his way up from his fields through the Farmers' Alliance into a seat in the United States Senate. But in

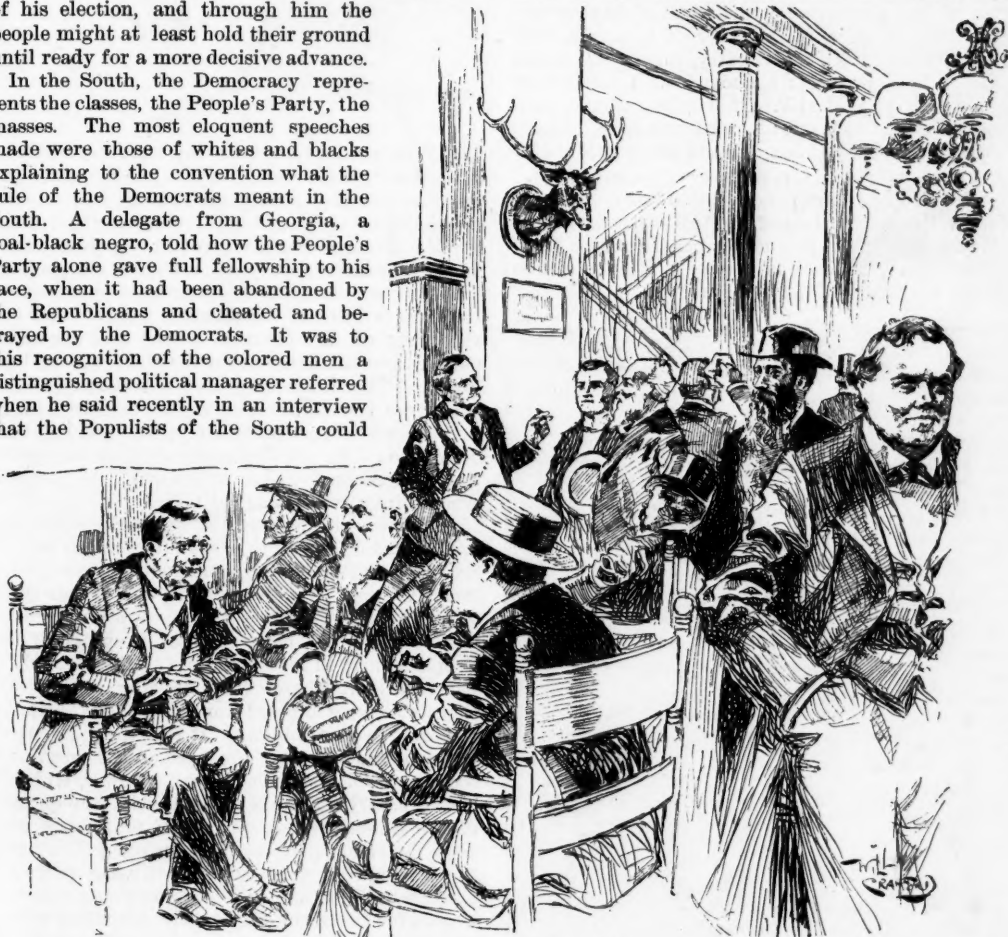
addition to the revolting agrarians, nearly every other reform force—except the Socialists—has been swept into it. Its first national convention of 1892 was attended by veterans of the old Greenback movement like General James B. Weaver, by rotten-egging whom, in the campaign that followed, the Southern Democrats made tens of thousands of Populists; by anti-monopolists like Ignatius Donnelly, whose Shakespeare cryptogram has made him one of the best known writers of his day; by leaders like Powderly. It was no easy thing to find common ground for men so dissimilar to meet upon. The delicate work of preparing a platform was accomplished, thanks mainly to the skillful pen of Ignatius Donnelly. The convention went wild with joy when it became known that the Committee on Platform had succeeded in coming to an agreement and unification was assured. For over an hour the thousand members of the convention sang, cheered, danced and gave thanks. It was one of the most thrilling scenes in the panorama of American political conventions. Singularly enough, it was in the Democratic convention, this year, not that of the People's Party, that the forces of enthusiasm and revolutionary fervor flamed the brightest.

The Populist gathering of this year lacked the drill and distinction and wealth of the Republican convention held the month before in the same building. It had not the ebullient aggressiveness of the revolutionary Democratic assembly at Chicago, nor the brilliant drivers who rode the storm there. Every one commented on the number of gray heads—heads many of them grown white in previous independent party movements. The delegates were poor men. One of the "smart" reporters of the cosmopolitan press dilated with the wit of the boulevardier upon finding some of them sitting with their shoes off,—to rest their feet and save their shoes, as they confessed to him. Perhaps even his merry pen would have withheld its shafts if he had realized that these delegates had probably had to walk many weary miles to get to the convention, and that they had done their political duty at such sacrifice only for conscience sake. Cases are well known of delegates who walked because too poor to pay their railroad fare. It was one day discovered

that certain members of one of the most important delegations were actually suffering for food. They had had no regular sleeping place, having had to save what money they had for their nickel meals at the lunch counter. The unexpected length of the proceedings had exhausted their little store of money. Among these men, who were heroically enduring without complaint such hardships in order to attend to political duties which so many of those who laugh at them think beneath their notice, were some of the blacklisted members of the American Railway Union. They were there in the hope that they might have the opportunity of helping to make their leader, Eugene V. Debs, a candidate for President. But Mr. Debs, though he had a large following, refused to allow his name to be put before the convention, urging that every one should unite in favor of Bryan, as there seemed a chance of his election, and through him the people might at least hold their ground until ready for a more decisive advance.

In the South, the Democracy represents the classes, the People's Party, the masses. The most eloquent speeches made were those of whites and blacks explaining to the convention what the rule of the Democrats meant in the South. A delegate from Georgia, a coal-black negro, told how the People's Party alone gave full fellowship to his race, when it had been abandoned by the Republicans and cheated and betrayed by the Democrats. It was to this recognition of the colored men a distinguished political manager referred when he said recently in an interview that the Populists of the South could

go where they belonged—"with the negroes." With thrilling passion the white Populists of the South pleaded that the convention should not leave them to the tender mercies of the Democrats, by accepting the Democratic nominees without the pledges or conditions which would save the Populists from going under the chariot wheels of southern Democracy. "Cyclone" Davis, spokesman of the Texas delegation, tall and thin as a southern pine, with eyes kindled with the fire of the prophet, a voice of far reach and pathos, and a vocabulary almost every other word of which seemed drawn from the Gospels or the denunciatory Psalms, wrestled and prayed with the convention to save the Populists of Texas from the fate that awaited them if they were sent back, unprotected, to their old enemies. The Democrats, the "classes," hate with a hatred like that of the Old Régime of France for the Sans Culottes of



Jerry Simpson.

Sen. Stewart.

W. H. Harvey.
H. E. Taubeneck.E. V.
Debs.John P.
Jones.

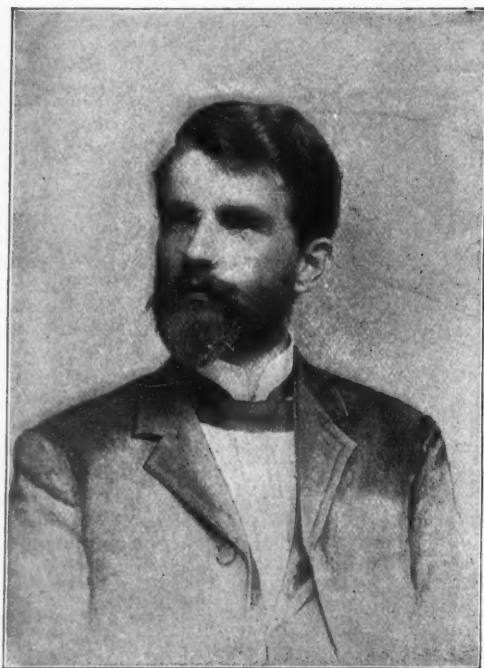
Sen. Peffer.

Donnelly.

SCENE IN SOUTHERN HOTEL, ST. LOUIS—THE LEADERS OF THE POPULISTS.—Drawn for N. Y. Journal.

St. Antoine the new people who have dared to question the immemorial supremacy of their aristocratic rule, and who have put into actual association, as not even the Republicans have done, political brotherhood with the despised negro. This is the secret of the bolt of the Texas Populists, just announced. They have gone over to gold with the sound money men of both the old parties, because more than silver, more than anti-monopoly, the issue with them is the elementary right to political manhood. The issue in many parts of the South is even more elementary—the right to life itself, so bitter is the feeling of the old Democracy against these upstarts from the despised masses of the whites. The line between the old Democracy and Populism in the South is largely a line of bloody graves. When the convention decided to indorse Bryan without asking for any pledge from the Democrats for the protection of the southern Populists one of its most distinguished members, a member of Congress, well known throughout the country, turned to me and said: "This may cost me my life. I can return home only at that risk. The feeling of the Democracy against us is one of murderous hate. I have been shot at many times. Grand juries will not indict our assailants. Courts give us no protection."

The People's Party convention was dated to follow the conventions of the two other parties by its managers in the pessimistic belief that the Democratic party as well as the Republican would be under the thumb of the trusts and the "gold bugs."



HON. MARION BUTLER OF NORTH CAROLINA.



Drawn for the Journal.

HON. THOMAS WATSON.

The People's Party would then have the easy task of gathering into its ranks the bolting silver and anti-monopolist Republicans and Democrats, and increasing its two millions of votes to the five and a half millions that would put it in possession of the White House for four years. It was a simple plan. That its lead would be taken from it by one of the old parties, least of all that this would be done by the party of President Cleveland and Secretary Olney, those in charge of the People's Party did not dream. The Democracy had not forgotten how they were forced to accept Horace Greeley in 1872, because the Independent Republicans had had their convention first. Its progressive elements with a leader of surpassing shrewdness and dash, Altgeld, who unites a William Lloyd Garrison's love of justice with the political astuteness of a Zach Chandler or a Samuel J. Tilden, took advantage of the tactical error of the People's Party managers in postponing its convention. The delegates as they betook themselves to St. Louis thought they saw a most promising resemblance between the prospects of the People's Party in 1896 and those of the Republican party in 1856. The by-elections since 1892 showed that its membership roll was rising and was well on the way to two millions. It was the party whose position was the most advanced on the question of social control of privileged social power, which, if contemporary literature is any guide, is the question of the times. But as the end of four years' work since the young party startled the old politicians in 1892 by showing up over a million votes in its first presidential election, the party is going this year to vote for President for one who is willing to take its votes but not its nomination. He will be its nominee but not its candidate. Such are the perplexities of the situation that it is even extremely doubtful whether the nominee will receive an official

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notification of his nomination or a request that he will consent to be a candidate. It is urged by influential members of the party that as a Democrat he would be "embarrassed" by such a notification and request, and that the "crisis" is so grave that they must sacrifice their party to their patriotism, and save their country by voting for the Democratic candidate without his knowledge "officially"—on the sly, as it were. Until their convention met

the noise of dissent has grown fainter as the excitement of the campaign rises. The party is composed altogether of men who had already had the self-discipline of giving up party for the sake of principle. Every one in it had been originally either a Democrat or a Republican, and had severed all his old political ties to unite with those who, like himself, cared more for reform than old party comforts. To men who had already made one such sacrifice,

another was not difficult. The People's Party is bi-vertebrate as well as bi-metallic. It was built up of the old Greenback and Anti-monopoly elements, reinforced by castaways of the Union Labor, National, and other third party enterprises. Its members had become well acquainted with the adversities of fusion and amalgamation, and used to being "traded" out of existence.

One of the plainest looks on the face of the St. Louis convention was anxiety—
anxiety of the managers who for years had been planning to get by fusion—with Republicans or Democrats—the substance if not the name of victory, and saw in the gathering many resolute "middle of the road" opponents; anxiety of the mass of the delegates lest they were being sold out; anxiety, most surprising of all, among the radicals, lest by insisting too much upon their own radicalism they might explode a coalescence which, if left to gather headway, might later be invaluable to them. The predominant anxiety found its most striking expression in the preparation and adoption of the platform. In the

committee room every suggestion for the utterance of any novelty in principle or application was ruthlessly put down. When the platform was reported to the convention, the previous question was at once moved, and the platform adopted without a word of debate. Even in the Democratic convention half a day was given to discussing the articles of political faith. No motion to reconsider this closure and secure a discussion of the principles of the movement was made. Even the radicals sat silent. In

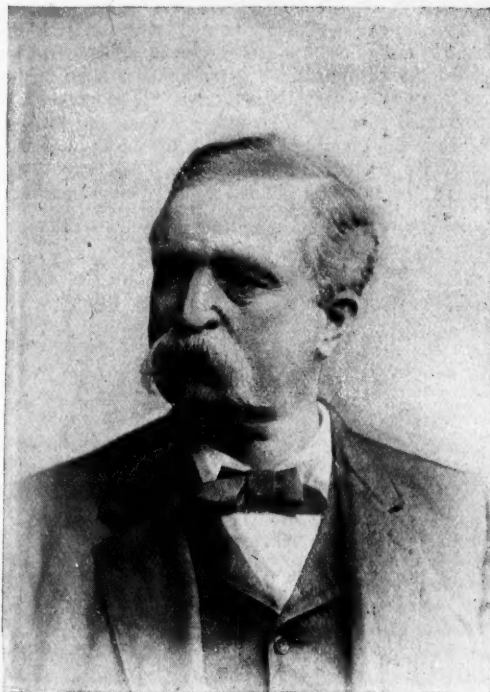


EUGENE V. DEBS.

these millions had hoped that theirs would be the main body of a victorious army. This hope ends in their reduction to the position of an irregular force of guerillas fighting outside the regular ranks, the fruit of the victory, if won, to be appropriated by a general who would not recognize them. Even more interesting is it that this is cheerfully accepted by most of the rank and file of the People's Party. No protest of sufficient importance to cause a halt was made at the first, when the shock was greatest, and

the proceedings of the convention the creed of the party was therefore practically not considered. In a large view the only subject which engrossed the gathering was whether the party should keep on in its own path or merge for this campaign with the Democracy. The solicitude to do nothing which should hinder the Rising of the People, if that had really begun, was the motive that led to the indorsement of Bryan. Most of the three hundred, over one hundred of them from Texas alone, who refused to unite in this, would have joined its one thousand supporters had the protection they prayed for against the old Democracy been given them by the exaction of guarantees from the Democratic candidate and campaign managers. It was not that they loved Bryan less. A determination that the People's Party and that for which it stood should not be lost if this year's battle was lost by its ally, Democracy, accounts for the nomination of Watson. The majority which insisted that all the precedents should be violated and the Vice-President nominated before the President, and which rejected Sewall and took Thomas E. Watson of Georgia—a second Alexander H. Stephens in delicacy of physique and robustness of eloquence and loyalty to the people—was composed, as the result showed, mostly of the same men who afterward joined in the nomination of Bryan. It is true there was a strong opposition to Sewall, because he was national bank president, railroad director and corporation man. But the nomination speeches and the talk of the delegates showed convincingly that the same men who meant to support Bryan were equally well minded that there should not be an absolute surrender to the Democracy. The Democracy must yield something in return for the much greater concession the People's Party was to give.

Contrary to expectation and to the plan by which the two conventions had been brought to St. Louis on the same dates, the silver convention exercised no influence on that of the Populists. The delegates of the latter listened with unconcealed impatience to every reference to the silver body, and refused to allow its members any rights upon the floor. The report of the Conference Committee was listened to without interest. The tumultuous refusal of the convention to allow Senator Stewart of the silver convention an extension of time when he was addressing them, was one of the many signs that the convention cared less for silver than did the Democratic convention. Most of the Democrats really believe free silver is a great reform. That is as far as they have got. But it was hard to find among the Populists any who would not privately admit that they knew silver was only the most trifling installment of reform, and many—a great many—did not conceal their belief that it was no reform at all. The members of the People's Party have had most of their education on the money question from the Greenbackers among them—men like the only candidate who contended with Bryan for the nomi-



HON. J. B. WEAVER OF IOWA.

nation before the convention—Colonel S. F. Norton, author of the "Ten Men of Money Island," of which hundreds of thousands of copies have been sold, who for twenty years has been giving his means and his life energy to agitating for an ideal currency. The People's Party believes really in a currency redeemable in all the products of human labor, and not in gold alone, nor in gold and silver. A party which hates Democracy accepted the Democratic nominee, and a party which has no faith in silver as a panacea accepted silver practically as the sole issue of the campaign. Peter Cooper, the venerable philanthropist, candidate for President on the Greenback ticket in 1876—whose never absent air cushion Nast by one of his finest strokes of caricature converted into a crown for General Butler when running as Greenback and Labor candidate for Governor of Massachusetts—presided over the first days of the convention from within the frame of a very poorly painted portrait. But later, by accident or design, about the time when it thus became plain that the convention would make only a platonic declaration of its paper money doctrines, and would put forward only "Free Silver" for actual campaign use, the face of the old leader disappeared and was seen no more with its homely inspiration above the chairman's head.

The solution of the paradoxical action of the convention as to Democracy and money was the craving for a union of reform forces which burned with all the fires of hope and fear in the breasts of the delegates, and overcame all their academic differences of economic doctrine and all their old political prejudices. The radicals had men who were eager to raise the convention against the stultification they thought it was perpetrating. If the issue had been made there was an even chance, good arithmeticians among the observers thought, that the convention could have been carried by them, and a "stalwart" ticket put into the field on a platform



HON. IGNATIUS DONNELLY OF MINNESOTA.

far in advance of that adopted in Omaha in 1892, one demanding, for instance, the public ownership of all monopolies. This contingent felt that the social question is more than the money question, the money question more than the silver question, and the silver question more than the candidacy of any one person. If the money question was to be the issue it wanted it to be the whole money question—the question how an honest dollar can be made instead of being only stumbled on in placers or bonanzas, and how it can be made as elastic as the creative will of the people and as expansive as civil-

ization itself. Certainly the strongest single body of believers in the convention was this of anti-monopoly in everything, including the currency. These men would much rather have declared for the demonetization of gold than the remonetization of silver. That their strength was formidable—formidable enough to have split the convention near the middle, if not to have carried it—no one could deny who studied on the ground the feelings and beliefs of the delegates. But those who might have called this force into activity were quiescent, for Col. Norton's candidacy was unsought, impromptu and without organization. The leaders did not lead, and their followers did not clamor to be led. "General" J. S. Coxey of the Commonweal Army, who has left large property interests to suffer while he has devoted himself to educating the people on his "Good Roads" plan of internal improvements, to be paid for by non-interest bearing bonds, was present, and made no resistance outside of the Committee of Resolutions. Ex-Governor Waite of Colorado, whose name will be cheered in any assembly of labor men or Populists, as the only Governor who has called out the militia to protect the workingmen against violence at the hands of their employers, for the sake of harmony forbore to press his claims at the head of a contesting delegation from Colorado. Senator Peffer, who has shown an ample courage in every emergency at Washington, sat silent, though he was bitterly opposed to the methods of the managers. The fear ruled that unless the reform forces united this time they would never again have the opportunity to unite. It was in the air that there must be union. The footfall of the hour for action was heard approaching. It was a psychological moment of *rapprochement* against an appalling danger which for thirty years now had been seen rising in the sky. If the radicals made a mistake, it was a patriotic mistake. The delegates knew perfectly well that the silver miners were spending a great deal of money and politics to get them to do just what they were doing. They knew what the Democratic politicians were doing with the same object. They knew that with some of their own politicians the anxiety to return to the old political home was not dissociated from visions of possible fattened calf. But though they knew all this, they went on by an overwhelming majority to do what the mine owners and the Democrats and the traders wanted them to do, and the acquiescence of the mass of the party in their action is now beyond question. We can comprehend this better when we see men like Edward Bellamy, the head of the Nationalists, and Henry George of the Single Taxers, and the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss of the Christian Socialists also taking the same attitude and for precisely the same reason that the real issue is "between men and money," in Bellamy's phrase; and they cannot afford to side with money against men.

AN OUTLOOK UPON THE AGRARIAN PROPAGANDA IN THE WEST.

BY NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS.

RECENT discussions and editorials in the various journals and reviews of New York seem to indicate that the East does not fully understand either the strength of the silver sentiment or the methods and arguments by which it is being advanced in the interior and West. During several weeks past I have been lecturing before various Chautauquas, summer assemblies and colleges of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. These summer assemblies, continuing through ten or twelve days with their summer schools, lectures and concerts by the best platform speakers of the country, assemble audiences at once vast and widely representative. Here pulses and throbs the intellectual life of the entire section. Conversation with a large number of representative men has convinced me that as Republicans we must adopt new methods of discussion and redouble our energies if we are to destroy the silver heresy and maintain sound money. The outline of a single address given to an assembly of farmers in a country schoolhouse in Iowa will interpret the methods and arguments used throughout the entire West.

The chief feature of the speaker's address was his charts. Upon one end of a blackboard was written an estimate of the number of millions of bushels of oats raised this year by the farmers of Iowa, and a further estimate of the value of the crop at the market price of 13 cents a bushel. The Populist portrayed the farmer working like a slave through eight months of the year to produce this 13-cent bushel of oats, while the railway in a single day and night hauled the grain to Chicago, where it receives 7 of the 13 cents as its recompense. Now the first cent of the seven extorted will, urged the orator, take away all hope of the farmer paying the interest on his mortgage; the second cent will take from wife or daughter woolen dress warm against the winter; the third will take the boy and girl out of school and college and condemn them to the drudgery of the farmhand or housemaid; the fourth cent will take away all possibility of purchasing the review, the newspaper, the book, and drive men back to barbarism. When the orator reached this point in his discussion the audience was inflamed to the highest point. At that moment self-interest and prejudice armed his listeners against all arguments for sound money. Had the Republican committee been there when the assembly dispersed to present each farmer with a library devoted to the exposure

of the silver heresy, even the multitude of books would not have availed for reversing the farmer's judgment or convincing him that the gold standard is not responsible for his misfortunes, or that free silver is not the unfailing panacea for all his ills.

In many of the rural districts class hatred and sectionalism are invoked against McKinley and the Republican party. The farmer is told that the reason why the railroads extort 7 cents out of the 13 paid for the bushel of oats is that the railroad must pay interest on watered stock representing two or three times the cost of building the road. Now the argument of the Populist is that this water must be squeezed out of the stock before the farmer can hope for better rates. As a means to this desired end it is urged that since railways cannot increase the fare of three cents a mile, the success of free silver will throw the railway into the hands of a receiver and force an entire readjustment. Like dynamite, class hatred is a powerful weapon, and the farmer is urged to use it against his ancient enemy, the corporation. By the skillful use of half truths and falsehoods the prophet of free silver succeeds in inciting the farmer to punish the railways in the hope that some time in the long run benefit will accrue to him in the shape of lessened charges for transportation.

Strangely enough, one of the most effective arguments that is being used is directed not against capital, nor against ability as represented by the employer, but against the trades unions of the cities. The farmers affirm that carpenters, painters and masons have, through strikes and lock-outs, succeeded in maintaining a false standard of wages in the face of the falling prices for the farmer, with wheat selling for 60 cents a bushel, the carpenter and mason has, through the long period of financial depression since 1893, held his wage up to 40 and 50 cents an hour, all this, too, despite the fact that the farmer of the great interior and western states has during the same period toiled not eight hours a day, but fourteen or sixteen, and received on an average but 78 cents per day. By reason of their isolation the farmers feel that it has been impossible for them to organize trades unions enabling them to maintain their rights in the same way that the laboring men in the cities have defended themselves against wrong. Now the problem that fronts the farmer, the Populist urges, is how shall the wage of the laborer in the city be equalized with the wage of

the laborer in the pasture or meadow. In nature there is a law by which the water in the spout of the tea-kettle finds the same level with the water in the kettle itself. But wages will not equalize themselves; the task of equalization asks the farmer's aid. The gist of the silver orator's argument touching this point is this: Suppose Bryan is elected and the country goes to a silver basis. The carpenter's or mason's wages will still stand at 40 or 50 cents an hour, for at the very best he can scarcely hope for an advance in wages of more than 5 or 10 cents an hour. But with the small increase in amount of wages will come the halving of the purchasing power of his money. But for his 60-cent bushel of wheat the farmer will, under the new conditions, obtain \$1.20. Not capital, not ability, not labor, but land, therefore, is to receive the benefit of the financial change. Thus the wages of the farmer will be made to approach those of the carpenter or mason, and that, too, without riot or strike or the use of arms.

Unfortunately this method secures the transfer of a part of the wages from the pocket of the carpenter or mason in the city to the pocket of the farmer in the country. It gains for one class of workmen at the expense of another. It is my firm conviction that the election of McKinley and the success of the principles, financial and economic, for which he stands, will increase the farmer's wage without lessening the wage of the laboring men in cities. A box filled with ballots representing such arguments and half-truths would not equal a single vote cast by wise men in the days of Adams, Hamilton and Jefferson.

Much is being said about the campaign of education. Unfortunately, unto the present moment the education has been largely on the part of the Populists. The zeal of the silver orator is something to stir the wonder and alarm of all intelligent men. Like the zealot of old, the silverite rises yet a great while before day to compass one convert before milking his cows or finding his way into the fields. All day long he hastens his footsteps that he may have an hour in the evening for visiting some unconvinced neighbor. He returns from the field to take up the argument where he dropped the thread in the morning. He counts himself the divinely ordained apostle of the new financial movement. He goes to church on Sunday to obtain inspiration for prosecuting his mission during the week. Farmers' picnics by streams and in groves are held. The bicycle race, the horse race, the wrestling match and the silver debate increase the crowds. When the sound money orator begins his argument he finds himself working against signal odds. He who starts out to convert others finds it hard to confess he himself has been wrong. He is impervious to argument. His mind may be compared to a bottle empty and corked as it floats in the sea. The ocean itself can-

not fill such a bottle, and the larger the ocean and the greater the vacuum of the bottle, the tighter is the cork pushed in. Under such conditions the old orthodox methods of campaign are impotent. A new kind of literature even must be evolved. Many difficulties hitherto unknown have been developed.

Then the successful tariff speaker is not always a successful disputant of the financial question. A clear view of the silver question involves wide reading and experience and a trained mind,—conditions asking for years, not weeks of education. Up to the present moment the great need in the Republican campaign is a need of illustrated literature. A short, spicy statement with a cartoon or picture will distribute itself; it has wings and feet and walks or flies throughout the township or county. Contrarywise, long pamphlets, studied financial discussions and the abstract documents sent out will never be read by farmers, but will serve during the coming winter for lighting the kitchen fire of the man who is supposed to distribute them. One of the members of the English Cabinet has said that Lord Rosebery was defeated and Salisbury elected by reason of the large posters pasted on barns and the cartoons sent out through patent insides of newspapers. Beyond a peradventure, a new kind of campaign document must be invented. The eye offers a short route to reason and judgment. The poster as an influence in the campaign offers more hope than any other method of public instruction.

After patient investigation I am convinced that the present industrial depression has its explanation in causes other than the appreciation of gold or the depreciation of silver. In the long run the farmers not less than the laboring men in cities have only misfortune and sorrow as the result of the election of Bryan. But my acquaintance with the rural districts of states like Illinois and Iowa makes it impossible for me to believe that the farmers will ever consent to a policy of repudiation. These states were settled largely by New England in connection with the Kansas and Nebraska troubles in 1857. No section in the entire country represents a higher average of intelligence and culture; no section buys more books and magazines, or sends a larger proportion of its young men and women to the academy and college. Beecher and Gough used to say no section in the land gave a more appreciative hearing. The country district has always furnished the leaders to the city. Eighty five per cent. of the great financiers, lawyers, bankers, merchants and professional men of the cities have come from the country, or from the small villages. The leaders of the next generation in the city are to-day toiling behind the plow in the country. I have abiding confidence in the intelligence and morality and sober second thought of the farmers and their sons. Once the question is fully before them they will refuse dishonor and repudiation.

WOULD AMERICAN FREE-COINAGE DOUBLE THE PRICE OF SILVER IN THE MARKETS OF THE WORLD?

I. THE AFFIRMATIVE VIEW.

BY DR. CHARLES B. SPAHR OF NEW YORK.

I AM asked what will be the effect of the free-coinage of silver by the United States upon the gold price of silver bullion. I reply that the free-coinage of silver by the United States will double the demand for silver bullion and double its price. Under free-coinage our currency will be increased perhaps \$100,000,000 a year; but the currency of the gold-using nations of Europe will be increased with equal rapidity even if we retain all our present stock of gold. If we should export of this stock \$25,000,000 a year, Europe's supply of currency would increase more rapidly than our own, and her currency become less valuable than ours. If we export gold at all it will be a slow process. I am ready to grant that our stock of gold is grossly exaggerated in the estimates of the director of the mint. But be it only half as great as that official reckons, it is impossible for any one who believes that the value of currency depends upon its volume to figure out the complete disappearance of our gold, or an appreciable premium upon it for years to come.

It is not my purpose in this essay to repeat the time honored arguments showing the correctness of the belief that the value of the currency, other things being equal, does depend upon its volume. That principle is not only accepted by the common sense of the unlearned classes, but is taught by every international bimetalist and by every one of the classic political economists. It was never disputed, so far as I know, until the exigencies of the present silver controversy forced the monometallists to dispute it or retire from the field. In the old political economics, it is presented as a self-evident principle rather than as a deduction from experience, but the experience of the world with changes in the supply of currency is just as conclusive. I merely wish to cite two illustrations of its truth. When the Napoleonic wars led to the employment of paper money instead of coin in France and England the value of both gold and silver fell to one half.* In other words, prices measured in gold and silver doubled. When at the end of the wars the two nations retired their paper currencies and demanded coin the value of both metals doubled. When the gold discoveries in California and Australia at the middle of this century greatly increased the supply of gold, though without materially affecting the supply of silver, the value of money, whether gold or silver, again fell

with the increased quantity of money. Nothing is clearer historically than that the value of money depends not upon its material, but upon the relation between its supply and the demand of business.*

My own lingering doubts upon this point were removed by the experiences of France immediately after the gold discoveries. It will be recalled that the production of gold within a few years increased tenfold, while the production of silver merely increased at the steady rate it has maintained for the century. The cost of mining gold, measured in days' labor, was reduced to less than one-half. Had

* An illustration of this principle only less striking has been furnished by the recent experiences of the United States. In 1878, when the Bland-Allison bill was passed, requiring the coinage of \$2,000,000 of silver bullion a month at the old ratio of 16 to 1, the monometallists with one accord predicted that we would have "an eighty cent dollar." The value of the bullion in the Bland dollar had been below eighty cents. If the value of money depended upon its material, and not upon its volume, the Bland dollar would certainly have been worth but eighty cents in gold. The cheaper dollar would undoubtedly have driven out the dearer dollar, and the monometallists' prediction that our gold would leave us would have been fulfilled. But these predictions have proven absolutely false. Despite the fact that the Bland dollar was not redeemable in gold, and that the banks for a time assumed a hostile attitude toward it, its value remains the same as gold, because it had the same money privileges and its value was fixed like the value of gold, by the supply and demand for money. About \$400,000,000 is silver coin was issued under this act, at the ratio of 16 to 1, and yet the whole of it remained at par. When the Sherman act was passed the power of the government to affect the relative value of gold and silver was again shown. Not only was the price of all coin silver raised to the old level—\$1.29 an ounce—but the price of uncoined silver throughout the world was raised from a little over ninety cents an ounce to \$1.21. Yet the Sherman act had only increased our governmental demand for silver from \$24,000,000 worth a year to a little over \$50,000,000 worth. The relative value of silver only declined when Austria and Russia created a new demand for gold proportionately greater than the demand of the United States had created for silver. The recent fall in the value of silver and rise in the value of gold has been entirely due to governmental action, for the supply of gold from the mines has increased with far greater rapidity than the supply of silver. If the limited coinage of silver under the Bland and Sherman acts was sufficient to raise all coined silver to \$1.29 an ounce and all uncoined silver to \$1.21 an ounce when the relative supply of silver was far greater than to-day, it is evident that unlimited coinage and the doubling of our former demand would raise all silver to the old level.

* See Jevons' essay in the "Journal Statistical Society" of London, 1865.

gold been demonetized, as the monometallists then demanded, its value would doubtless have fallen as rapidly as they predicted. But as the mints remained open and an ounce of gold still retained the same currency privileges as $15\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver, its value could not fall any faster than the value of all currency fell. For several years France, with less than half of our present population and hardly more than half of our present currency, received yearly at her mints \$100,000,000 of gold. Yet with this expansion of the currency came an expansion of business demanding more currency. Prices rose but one-fifth in fifteen years, and prices in silver rose as rapidly as prices in gold. There was a slight premium upon silver at the bullion dealers, where a little silver was each year sought for export, but this premium did not exist in ordinary transactions. Just what took place is admirably described by Chevalier in a passage that cannot be quoted too often. Writing in 1859—eleven years after the flood of cheap gold had begun to pour into the currency—the great monometallist of his generation said:

One is surprised at first that a production of gold so vast, so colossal, as has been noted, in comparison with what had been seen before, has not yet caused a lower ratio of gold to the other precious metal. . . . But there is intervening a powerful cause which temporarily holds back gold in its fall. France offers thus far an indefinitely great market upon the basis of 1 kilogram of gold for $15\frac{1}{2}$ of silver. For the stranger who owes a Frenchman a certain number of francs—that is, a certain number of times $4\frac{1}{2}$ grams of silver—acquits himself legally by giving him a quantity of gold $15\frac{1}{2}$ times as small. Whenever the merchant in precious metals wishes to exchange his gold for silver, he obtains almost the same terms; for, in addition to the quantity indicated by the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, he has only to pay the premium, and by force up to this present that has been slight, and must remain so for some time yet, for a reason easy to perceive. So long as there remains much silver in France, people residing there, to whom the pieces of metal come, ought to esteem themselves happy to exchange it for gold at a premium very small over the ratio established by the law of 1803, since for the payments they have to make they cannot make their creditors take it for more than the proportion of gold indicated by the law 1 to $15\frac{1}{2}$. For the same reason it will be impossible at London, at Brussels, and Hamburg, at New York, or any place, on the general market for gold to be worth much less than $15\frac{1}{2}$ its weight in silver.

What took place in France in the fifties when the free-coinage of gold was continued despite the protests of the classes favoring a scarce currency is likely to take place in the United States when the free-coinage of silver is resumed, despite the protests of the same classes. The increase in our currency will be relatively less and the rise in prices probably less. To-day the entire annual product of the silver mines of the world (reckoned at its old price) is but a little more than \$200,000,000. Nearly one-half of this product, as Mr. Giffen said in his "Case Against Bimetallism," is taken for non-monetary

purposes (including the consumption of India.) Further millions are taken for the subsidiary currency of gold standard countries, and the entire currency of silver standard countries. These demands are not lessened when silver rises in price. The amount of silver that can be brought to our mints is not likely to exceed \$100,000,000, even if the cause of bimetallism is too weak abroad to lead any other nation to follow our example. The relaxing of our demand for gold is likely to lower the value of that metal to where it stood prior to the adoption of international monometallism in 1893. With prices restored to the level of four or five years ago, \$100,000,000 a year is hardly more than sufficient to maintain prices upon that level. During the decade between 1880 and 1890 our currency, according to the official estimate, increased nearly 5 per cent. a year. The estimate was somewhat exaggerated, but the real increase was about 4 per cent., and this was insufficient to prevent slowly falling prices. One hundred million dollars a year added to our currency would increase its volume but 7 per cent. a year, and would hardly keep pace with the demands of expanding business.

Meanwhile the gold currencies of Europe would expand with equal rapidity. The annual product of gold is now estimated at a little over \$200,000,000. For the years 1881-1885 Soetbeer estimated the non-monetary consumption at \$80,000,000 a year. It is now probably a third more, but about \$100,000,000 remain to be added to the currency of gold-using countries. The nations of Europe using gold—and not paper—have increased their population and business during the past decade barely as much as this country alone has increased it, and the rate of increase has been far less. Europe's supply of currency will increase as rapidly in proportion to the expansion of her industries as our supply of currency will increase in proportion to the expansion of our industries. It is hardly necessary to anticipate any exportation of gold whatever. This nation, together with the silver-using nations of Spanish America and the Orient, constitutes half of the commercial world. There is no more danger of inflating the currency of half the world with silver than there is of inflating the currency of the whole world with gold and silver. The currency of the world will increase no more rapidly under national bimetallism than under international bimetallism. Each will give to silver and gold at the old ratio approximately the same currency demand. When the currency demands for the two metals were approximately the same, silver and gold remained at the old ratio during the first part of the century, though three times as much silver was produced as gold; they remained at this ratio at the middle of this century when three times as much gold was produced as silver. Much more, therefore, will equal currency demands maintain this ratio at the end of the century when the two metals are produced in equal amounts.

II. THE NEGATIVE VIEW.

BY PROFESSOR J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN OF CHICAGO.

IN his speech of acceptance Mr. Bryan emphasizes the effect of the gold standard in causing low prices and distress; hence it is urged that the free coinage of silver is advisable because silver is a standard lower down, nearer to goods than gold, and that it would bring higher prices. And yet, quite in the opposite vein, Mr. Bryan holds that free coinage of silver will cause such a demand for silver that it will be kept at par with gold (that is, will rise to \$1.29 an ounce). In that case, of course, prices will still remain on the level of gold, up to which silver has been lifted. The irreconcilable inconsistency in these two grounds for urging free coinage of silver is fatal to the claims of the silver party. If free coinage of silver will raise the silver dollar to par with gold, then let it be heralded far and wide throughout the West that Mr. Bryan, in New York, has demonstrated that prices must still remain on the gold standard level. For, if silver is to be raised to par with gold, then the farmer will have to use the same number of bushels of wheat to pay his debt under the silver standard as under the gold standard, since both are held together. If Mr. Bryan is right in proving that silver will rise to par with gold, prices will remain on the gold level; consequently he is absolutely wrong in telling the farmer that prices will rise. Both of these things cannot by any possibility be true.

1. Mr. Bryan may mean that introducing silver into the United States, and driving out gold to Europe, will raise the value of silver and lower the value of gold, so that silver would not have to climb all the way from 53 cents to 100 cents, and par would be reached at some point between. This theoretical abstraction, however, does not take account of the actual facts of business experience. Silver and gold have not been interchangeable, or homogeneous, for money purposes. They do not flow into each other any more than two liquids of different specific gravities. What are the facts? The abundance of gold since 1850 has made it possible for Europe to throw aside silver and admit gold. If we drive out gold—as we surely will, by free coinage of silver—it will only give other countries (like Austria and Russia, now preparing for the gold standard) our former gold supply, and throw more silver out of use in Europe. We shall only rob ourselves of gold with the effect of strengthening the position of the gold-using countries of Europe. As gold production increased, more nations adopted it; as silver production increased, the reverse has taken place. No people have yet given up gold to take silver any more than they would give up good horses for cheap ones when cheap ones become abundant. The effect of free coinage of silver by the United States—according to all commercial his-

tory since 1850—would not lower the value of gold perceptibly, but it would only throw more European silver on the market. To act alone in this matter would only place us with Mexico, and rivet more strongly the gold system on Europe. If it is the purpose of the United States to increase the gold circulation of Europe we could not do it more effectually than by free coinage of silver.

2. Will there be a withdrawal of gold? Unmistakably, and here is the reason. If thirty-two grains of silver when uncoined, exchanged for one grain of gold in the open market; and if sixteen grains of silver, when coined, are offered for one grain of gold, what will happen? If butter in tubs brings 25 cents a pound, and the same butter in stamped pats brings 50 cents a pound, what will happen? Of course the butter will all be stamped to be sold at the higher price. So, also, with silver. If the same silver, when stamped at the mint, will exchange for twice as much gold, to the stamp it will go. All silver will rush to the mint, so long as it can exchange for twice the gold it can buy as bullion. But how about gold? The situation is just reversed for gold. As ordinary bullion without a stamp, one grain of gold buys thirty-two grains of silver; as coined gold, one grain of gold buys only sixteen coined grains of silver. What will happen to gold? Just as the owner of silver sold his silver where he could get the most gold, so the owner of gold will sell his gold where he can get the most silver. By melting his gold coins, or selling them by weight, the owner of gold can buy 32 grains of silver in the open market. He would certainly be a fool to keep his gold in coins and let them pass for only sixteen grains of silver coin. Then what is the result? There is an enormous profit on rushing silver to the mint to be coined and exchanged for gold, as long as any gold coins circulate; and likewise an enormous profit on withdrawing gold coins from circulation to be sold by weight for silver, or else exported. But mark this further result: The profit on coining silver ceases the moment no gold coins can be found in circulation to be exchanged for silver coins. Just that moment the silver will have no value beyond its own intrinsic value. But the owners of gold will be quick as a flash to see a profit in withdrawing gold, therefore there will be absolutely no chance to get the profit on coining silver and exchanging it for gold. Will silver coins keep the value of 16:1? That will, of course, be impossible. For, since there are no gold coins in circulation, how can sixteen grains of silver buy one grain of gold? The only place to buy gold with silver is in the bullion market, and there it takes thirty-two grains to buy one grain of gold. So long as the silver coins are kept in circulation at par

with gold coins (as is the case now), the silver is kept up in value by being exchanged readily for gold in all dealings. But with the unlimited free coinage of silver, when its market value is one-half its coin value, the silver dollar will inevitably be valued at one half its present purchasing power. About this there cannot be a shadow of a doubt. Such results have happened again and again in monetary history.

3. But this change of standard cannot take place without disastrous results and a panic. Why should we expect a commercial panic to follow? The withdrawal of gold means a change of standard. Before silver could be raised to par, according to Mr. Bryan, a new demand must arise for silver, and a demand be taken away from gold. That is only another way of stating that we must go to a silver basis in order to create the demand which will raise the value of silver to par. In short, we must have the fearful cataclysm following a change of standard before Mr. Bryan can prove his theory right or wrong.

The reasons why a panic must follow a change of standard are clear. Business men are selling goods on time, and discount their bills at banks. To pay wages in his factory to-day he gets the present worth from the banks of the debts due him for goods sold. These sales and discounts are made at prices determined by the existing gold standard. Suggest a lowering of 47 per cent. in the standard,—and imagine if you can the ensuing confusion. How can any kind of a business contract be made if it is not known within 47 per cent. what the value of the payment will be? No bank will loan the deposits left in their hands, or renew old loans, if there is fear that the repayment may vary by 47 per cent. And even before the change of standard could be enacted men would all wish to sell their securities and property for gold before the change to silver came about. If, then, every one is selling, and if the banks refuse to loan because of the uncertainty,—picture but faintly the consequent distress and failures. One house, unable to get loans to meet its maturing notes, fails; that brings down another house,—then all come crashing down in ruin. The horror passes all description: the hopes of a lifetime gone, homes sold, and beggary for wife and children. This would be the first effect of free coinage of silver; and already the faint possibility of it has forced down the prices of securities, in many cases, to a point as low as in the panic of 1893.

The results of a panic will be reduced production, lessened demand, rigorous economy, diminished transactions, idle capital, idle labor, general prostration, and the heaping up in banks of unemployed money. Less money will be needed for the lessened business. The demand for silver will be less than the present demand for gold, as a first result of free coinage of silver.

4. The only possible means by which silver can be raised to par must then be the demand created solely

by the United States. And this demand must be sufficient to raise the value of all silver in the world to par, not only in the United States, but in India, China, Russia or France. And yet one of the first results of free coinage of silver will be to withdraw the support from under the \$625,000,000 of silver in the United States now kept at par in gold. With our present gold system, from 1878 to 1893 our government purchased silver outright and withdrew it from the market, but kept it at par with gold. Our present legislation requires the Executive to maintain this silver at parity with gold, and so far this has been done. It has been a great help to the silver market that \$625,000,000 have been bought and kept at a value far beyond its bullion value. Now give us free coinage of silver, drive out gold, and it will be impossible to maintain the silver at par. Why? Because silver cannot be exchanged for gold money in any daily dealings; only silver will be paid in for duties; the Treasury will pay in silver; and all government money and obligations will be valued by the kind of money in which they are payable. Our money, based only on silver, will have only the value of silver. This \$625,000,000 of silver will fall to its market value, just as the Mexican dollars, now used in commerce all over the world, although containing more pure silver than our own dollars, pass for about 50 cents in gold. Free coinage of silver, therefore, will deprive \$625,000,000 of silver of its supporting gold prop, and it must henceforth stand on its own legs. The effect of this will be to depress rather than raise the value of silver.

5. Under the acts of 1878 and 1890 it should be recalled that the United States was a direct purchaser of silver. It took taxes from us and bought silver with them. With free coinage of silver the government would not buy a dollar of silver. Free coinage of silver means the right of any owner of bullion to have it coined into dollars. When the mint merely stamps this bullion into coins it is not a purchaser. It receives the bullion, and returns it to the owner in form of coins. A great many people have been wrongly led to believe that the government would create a demand for silver by buying it at the mints at a fixed price. Indeed, Mr. Bryan seems to hold this very mistaken view: "Any purchaser who stands ready to take the entire supply of any given article at a certain price can prevent that article from falling below that price. So the government can fix a price for gold and silver by creating a demand greater than the supply." That any one could believe this seems incredible. The government creates no demand. That depends solely upon the monetary needs of trade.

6. The only way in which the whole quantity of silver in the entire world can be raised to par with gold by the action of the United States alone is by its demand for silver in its circulation. On the supposition furnished by Mr. Bryan that silver will be kept at par with gold, the new demand for silver will, at the most, be for \$600,000,000 to replace that

amount of gold, which in 1896 constitutes our stock of gold, and which would leave the country. Would a demand of this amount raise the total supply of silver in the world to par with gold, and keep it there? Such a hope, in my opinion, is quite preposterous. Why? The silver party in 1878, and again in 1890, prophesied that these purchases of silver by the United States would raise silver to par; but, instead of that, it obstinately fell in value. And for the very good reason that we did not control the actions of other countries, which were getting rid of silver and taking on gold. That is, we took about \$600,000,000 of silver off the market without raising silver to par. Being mistaken once, why should we trust these theoretic prophets again?

Opening our mints to the free coinage of silver would undoubtedly tend to raise the bullion price of silver somewhat; but the continuing large production of silver, with no new demand for silver in Europe, would soon cause a decline in its value again. In 1890 the greatest silver combination ever known, ramifying from the London bullion dealers all over the world from the United States to India, with enormous capital behind it, following upon their successful passage of the Sherman act of July 14, 1890, in this country, succeeded once in raising silver to \$1.21 per ounce. And then what happened? The greatest collapse and fall in value of silver ever known. From August, 1890 (the ratio being 17.26 : 1) silver fell exactly to one-half its value in March, 1894 (the ratio being 34.36).

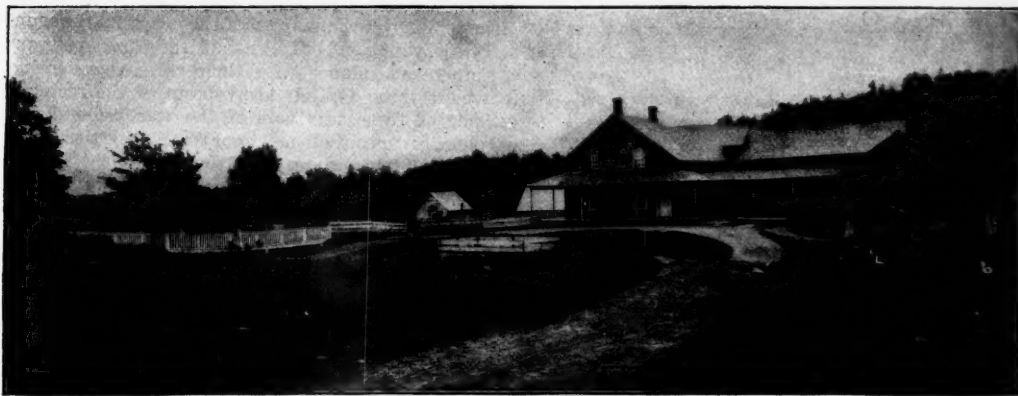
In short, the action of several countries, each alone trying to do, what Mr. Bryan thinks the United States alone can do, has signally failed to raise the value of silver. One country can no more stem the tide which caused the fall in value of silver than a man can swim up against the Niagara rapids. India alone has taken more than \$600,000,000 of silver since 1878, and yet that has not sufficed to keep silver at par with gold,—even when the United States was also taking a similar amount in the same period. If India and the United States together could not keep silver at par by creating double the demand now possible under free coinage by the United States alone, how can it be done by one of them?

No one country can stand against the current of events which has at last practically deposed silver from any position as an independent monetary metal. The United States, by the act of 1853, in effect acquiesced in the gold standard, and used no silver dollars until 1878; to 1864 France absorbed over \$1,100,000,000 of gold and let her silver go; in 1873 Germany exchanged her silver for gold; in 1878 the Latin Union (including France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and Greece) closed their mints to silver, in order to retain their gold; Holland, in 1875, discontinued silver coinage and opened her mints to gold; Austria stopped the coinage of silver in 1879, and began collecting gold in 1892; Italy, in 1882, resumed specie payments in gold; India, in

1893, closed its mints to silver; after a trial of silver coinage under the Sherman act (1890), giving us too great an amount for us to carry, we were on the eve of the silver standard, so that a panic came upon us with sweeping losses and ruin, the country rose *en masse* and repealed the silver legislation November 1, 1893, which caused the destruction; and this year Russia has practically placed herself on the gold standard. Just when all Europe was discarding silver, to drive out our gold by free coinage of silver would only assist them in this movement, and not perceptibly aid in the rehabilitation of silver. Just how it would operate can be seen from the course of events when the fear of the silver standard in 1893 sent gold abroad. Austria was collecting gold under her act of August, 1892, when Professor von Wieser wrote: "That which worked for our good still more, and beyond all expectation, was the fact that an unusually abundant supply of gold flowed out from the United States just at the moment when Austria applied herself to procuring a stock of that metal. All the great European banks of issue profited by this opportunity, and we, too, made the most of it. It is in great part your Republican eagles, stamped with the imperial eagle of Austria, or the royal crown of St. Stephen of Hungary, that just now are furnishing the basis of our gold standard."

6. If, then, it would be wholly inadequate to the purpose of raising silver to par with gold, to rely only on the demand for an amount of silver that would be created in exchanging goods in the United States, the only other ground of thinking that silver can be raised to par is that of the unlimited legal tender quality. To keep 53 cents of silver at par with gold by giving the silver unlimited legal tender has no precedent in history to warrant its success. If the legal tender quality will keep silver at par, why does the Mexican dollar, which is full legal tender in Mexico, not stay at par with gold? In fact, it is in Mexico worth only about fifty cents in gold. In our Civil War we made the greenbacks full legal tender; but they depreciated to 35 cents on the dollar. Making money legal tender, moreover, does not insure its circulation and a demand for it. Gold coin was a legal tender before 1834, and yet it was not in use. From 1834 to 1873 silver dollars were a full legal tender (and we had free coinage of both gold and silver), but they were not in use. From 1862 1879 gold was legal tender, but gold was not in circulation. So that not even by making money legal tender can you force a demand for it. And as we have seen, the legal tender power alone cannot keep money at par.

It cannot, then, be admitted that free coinage of silver by the United States alone will raise silver to \$1.29 per ounce—that is, raise the 53-cent dollar to 100 cents in gold. But, if it could, the favorite argument in favor of silver on the ground that it would raise prices, is ruined.



THE JOHN BROWN HOMESTEAD, NOW ACQUIRED BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

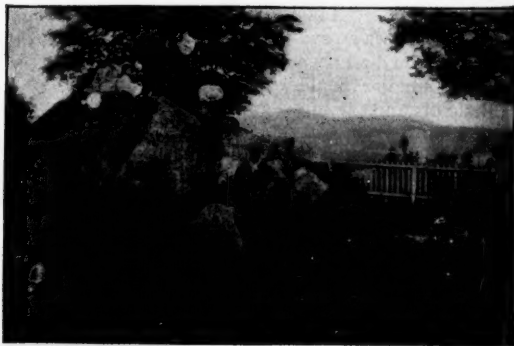
JOHN BROWN IN THE ADIRONDACKS.

BY ALBERT SHAW.

IT was due, doubtless, to the absorbing interest of the political situation that so little attention was drawn in July to an occasion in the heart of the Adirondacks which in ordinary times must have been widely reported and commented upon. This occasion was the formal acceptance by the State of New York of John Brown's farm and home. The place is to be preserved as a landmark of history and as a shrine for pilgrims who would do honor to the memory of a man whose heroism and lofty dignity of character all men seem at length to perceive, while also agreeing that he was a fanatic and a revolutionist. It has not been remembered by any very large proportion of the people who sometimes sing "John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave," just where that grave is situated. Probably not one in a hundred has known that John Brown is buried near by a large boulder a few yards from the door of the farmhouse built by him in the Adirondacks, on the precise spot designated by him as the place where he would wish to be laid at rest in case of death in his Kansas adventures or elsewhere away from home. Before going the last time to Kansas he had carved the initials "J. B." with a chisel on the side of the rock, and it is there that he was afterward interred with the foot of the grave under those letters, which are still clearly seen. The quaint headstone (seen in our illustrations) formerly did service at the grave of John Brown's grandfather in Connecticut, and it was brought many years ago from Torrington to the Adirondack grave of the grandson of the Captain John Brown of the Revolution.

It was through the efforts of the late Kate Field that the John Brown homestead and farm were preserved for the sake of their public interest. The

place had been sold to some one distantly connected with the family for eight hundred dollars in about the year 1863, and in 1870 Kate Field found that it was about to be sold again. The public had seemed quite to forget the tomb of John Brown, and it had fallen into neglect. Miss Field secured a number of subscriptions of one hundred dollars each, and purchased the property.* Her death and that of other members of this association which had bought the place made it seem wise to devise some means for its permanent protection. It happens that the State of New York has within a few years acquired



GRAVE OF JOHN BROWN (NEW STONE IN BACKGROUND).

*The names of those who had contributed to purchase the John Brown farm are as follows: Kate Field, Isaac H. Bailey, John E. Williams, William H. Lee, George A. Robbins, George Cabot Ward, Henry Clews, Randolph Martin, Le Grand B. Cannon, Charles S. Smith, S. B. Chittenden, Isaac Sherman, Jackson S. Schultz, Elliot C. Cowdin, Thomas Murphy, Charles G. Judson, Laken H. Wales, Sinclair Tousey, Horace B. Clafin, and "a Boston woman."



MONUMENT UNVEILED JULY 21, 1896.

vast tracts in the Adirondacks with a view to preserving the forest and protecting the origins of important water courses. Much of the land in the general vicinity of the John Brown farm has become State property, and it has been necessary to provide the requisite administrative organization for the oversight of the State's Adirondack domain. It was suggested, therefore, that it would be easy for the State of New York to care for the John Brown farm in connection with the great Adirondack reservation, and the legislature last winter passed an act enabling the executive department of the State government to accept the farm and homestead from the John Brown Association. It was the formal transfer from the Association to the State that was the occasion of the celebration of July 21. The Association was represented by some of its members, and General E. A. Merritt of Potsdam presided. A plain granite block with an explanatory inscription had been erected on a smaller boulder at a little distance from the grave of John Brown, and this new monument was unveiled in the presence of a large company of people. A flag pole also was raised from which the national emblem is kept constantly floating in the breezes,—an object visible from a long distance. Colonel Lyman, the State Excise Commissioner, delivered an address on the character and career of John Brown, and the other exercises of the day possessed no little interest. Many summer visitors from the Adirondack hotels were present, but the larger part of

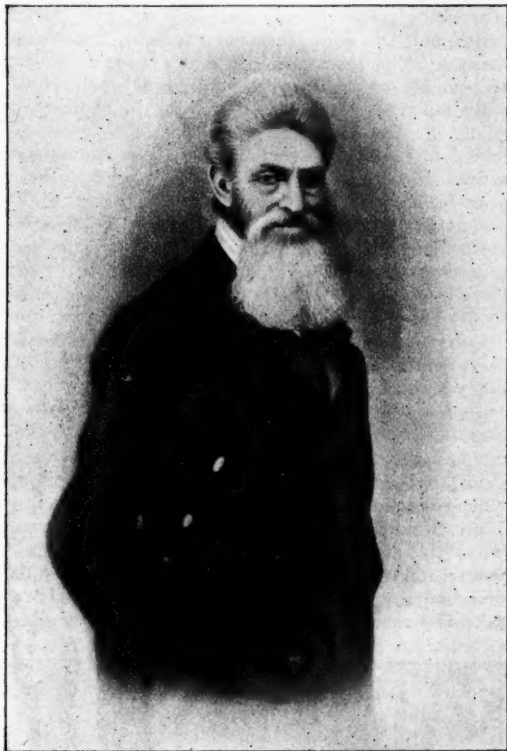
the company was made up of the people of the countryside, young and old. A handful of grizzly veterans were in attendance with their rifles, representing two or three Grand Army posts of the vicinity. Some of these survivors of the war remembered John Brown as their neighbor when they were lads. The flag was drawn from the monument by two brothers (now old men) of the Thompsons who were with the Browns in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry. Some colored people were present who had come into these mountains by means of the "underground railway" when John Brown was one of the boldest spirits in that undertaking. Others were there who as neighbors had gathered at the John Brown house on the occasion of old John's memorable departure for Kansas. These people were ready to tell the questioner all that they knew—sometimes a little more—about the career of John Brown and about his manner of life when a resident of North Elba. They were entirely agreed concerning the kindness of John Brown, his usefulness as a neighbor and his enterprise as a citizen. North Elba is the township lying immediately south of Lake Placid, and the John Brown farm is only two or three miles from the prosperous and attractive summer colony centring at that point. In John Brown's day, of course, the region was not easily accessible and the population was very scant. Church services were held in the old red schoolhouse, and John Brown was the most active man in the community's religious life. His numerous company, sons and daughters furnished the choir, and his house was the place where the young people of the neighborhood met for singing and for such intellectual life and recreation as the community enjoyed. John Brown, as compared with his humble neighbors, was a farmer on a large and important scale.

The early career of John Brown is too much over-



COL. LYMAN SPEAKING ON CAREER OF JOHN BROWN.

looked by those who think of him only in connection with his participation in the Kansas border warfare and his subsequent attack upon the arsenal at Harper's Ferry. He was born on May 9, 1800, in Torrington, Conn. He was the lineal descendant of one of the Pilgrims, Peter Brown, who came over to Plymouth in the *Mayflower*; and his father and grandfather were men of influence, who rendered patriotic service in the Revolution and the war of 1812. His father moved to Ohio when John was a



JOHN BROWN (FROM A PICTURE IN THE HOMESTEAD).

child of perhaps five years of age, and the boy grew up familiar with the conditions of pioneer farming in the Western Reserve. He was a lad of rare intelligence and capability and early acquired the art of land surveying, which subsequently at various times he practiced, not only in Ohio but in other parts of the country. When sixteen or seventeen years of age he decided to obtain a college education and enter the ministry. Accordingly he was sent to his relatives in Connecticut to prepare for college, with a view to entering Amherst, the president of which institution was a kinsman of the family. But John's diligence in preparing for college seriously affected his eyesight, and it became necessary for him to abandon his plans. He returned to Ohio at

nineteen or twenty, and threw himself with great energy into pursuits somewhat closely akin to farming. His father was a small tanner as well as farmer, and John became proficient in the art of making leather. He had from boyhood been passionately devoted to good live stock; and from the breeding of horses, cattle and sheep, he became a dealer in live stock, in hides, and afterward very extensively in wool. The close connection of these pursuits with farming is readily understood when one learns something of the conditions of agriculture and industry in Ohio sixty or seventy years ago. The development of sheep culture in Ohio was very rapid in that period, and the sole market for the wool was to be found in New England, where the American woolen manufacture was concentrated. As a large dealer in Ohio wool, John Brown found himself again in active relations with the East; and subsequently, in the year 1846, he concluded to establish himself in the vicinity of his market, and removed to Springfield, Mass. He became the principal business rival of the famous old trading house of Amos Lawrence. It was John Brown who introduced the grading system into the wool business; and his subsequent bankruptcy was brought about, as he always afterward claimed, through the corrupt manipulation of the grades by certain buyers and agents of his who were in the secret pay of his competitors.

However that may be, John Brown had always been much more than a business man. There can be as little doubt of his remarkable business ability and his restless energy as of his far-sighted audacity. He did not get out of the wool business until he had made a trip to Europe and studied the conditions of the trade in various countries besides England. Meanwhile, however, from his boyhood up he had been a Puritan of the Puritans. The Pilgrim fathers, typically considered, were men of capacity for business affairs; but they were also men who cherished political and religious ideals for which they were ready to sacrifice property, home, old associations and all conservative interests at what seemed to them the call of duty. John Brown was a man of precisely that type. As he himself remarked, near the end of his life, there had never been a time through all his years of business when he was not ready at any moment, without stopping to adjust his affairs, to go anywhere or do anything in obedience to the divine call. He had been willing to prosper in business and to acquire property, but not for the sake of personal ease or from a wish to leave a competency for his children. It was solely because he had hoped that money would enable him the more efficiently to obey the call which, it seems, he had long anticipated, to take some very bold and stirring steps toward the overthrow of American slavery. His father had for many years been one of the supporters of the anti-slavery educational community at Oberlin, Ohio, and John Brown himself had also from his boyhood come

under the same influences and had grown up as one of the staunchest defenders of everything that Oberlin in those days represented. Not only had he been a lifelong abolitionist, but he had from early life been more or less constantly connected with those who were engaged in assisting fugitive slaves. He had thus become acquainted with the anti-slavery leaders of New York and New England as well as Ohio.

No man of wealth and standing in the country was in those days more intimately connected with the anti-slavery movement than Gerrit Smith, who was born at Utica, N. Y., in 1797, and whose long life was spent chiefly at Petersboro in Central New York. His father had been a partner of John Jacob Astor in the fur trade, and was by far the greatest landholder of the State of New York, owning extensive tracts in many different counties. Gerrit Smith devoted himself to the care of his immense landed estate and to various works of philanthropy, but particularly to the furtherance of the movement against slavery. His money and his active plans had resulted in the safe escape of a large number of slaves to Canada. A less practical scheme of his was the colonization of fugitive slaves on tracts of land in the heart of the Adirondacks. He had put in practice a free homestead scheme which had worked successfully in western New York, where his plan of giving away farms to suitable settlers had resulted in the development of particular localities and had therefore helped to make a market for the lands which Mr. Smith had reserved. The land which he owned in the Au Sable valley in the Adirondacks can now be reached by a single night's ride from New York City in luxurious palace cars. But the great North Woods were not so easily invaded in the days when Gerrit Smith proposed to colonize amidst their dense shade the escaped bondmen from Virginia and the Carolinas. There were some bad roads and trails from Lake Champlain into the forest, but there was comparatively little approach from the South or West. Unquestionably Gerrit Smith's Essex county holdings formed a valuable strategic point on the underground railway. To have attempted a capture and removal of fugitives from these wilds would have been vastly more difficult than the capture of moonshiners has ever been in the wilds of the North Carolina or East Tennessee mountains. The impracticability of Smith's plan lay in the proposition to develop southern slaves into permanent Adirondack mountain farmers. A beginning,

however, was bravely made. Some colored families were located on pieces of ground allotted by Mr. Smith, and cabins were erected.

It was at this time, about 1848 or 1849, that John Brown, having failed in the wool business, visited Gerrit Smith and suggested that he be assigned a tract of the Essex county land, in consideration of which he would make his home there, show the negro colonists how to clear away the forest and till the ground, and in other respects act as general adviser and friend to the humble community. The proposition was entirely satisfactory to Gerrit Smith, and the John Brown farm dates from that bargain. The tract now contains 244 acres, and is presumably of the same dimensions as when originally assigned by Gerrit Smith to John Brown. Along one side of it dashes the Au Sable river, a turbulent mountain stream. The house commands a fine view of noble old White Face, and in the near background are Marcy and the other high peaks of the Adirondacks. The place is always approached from the side toward Lake Placid. It has a private lane, half a mile long, coming down from the house to the Wilmington and Lake Champlain road, which is the principal thoroughfare of the neighborhood. As I walked up this lane to attend the commemoration services of July 21, I asked many questions of an old man who had evidently come a long distance on foot, and who was greatly bent and crippled from rheumatism. He gave me a vivid account of John Brown as he remembered him, and particularly of a long night when several scores of people were gathered at the John Brown homestead to await the grey dawn when the captain with a handful of his devoted young followers, to the music of a local band, marched down the lane through the pine woods to take the road for Westport and the outer world.



THE BROWN HOMESTEAD LOOKING TOWARD WHITE FACE MOUNTAIN.

The old man believes to this day that he then witnessed the occasion of John Brown's departure for Harper's Ferry. But it was probably the leave taking of the neighbors when Brown went on his second trip to Kansas. So far as the manner of it all was concerned, this return to the scene of border warfare in Kansas was a more striking and impressive affair by far than the subsequent entrance upon the Virginia campaign. There were no drums or fifes or flags or public leave-takings when, with the utmost attempt at secrecy and under assumed names, the handful of conspirators were assembling from different directions and keeping themselves in hiding at the lonely little Kennedy farmstead four or five



(Photographed by W. L. Erwin.)

THE KENNEDY HOUSE NEAR HARPER'S FERRY.

miles from Harper's Ferry, which John Brown rented in July, 1859, under the false name of Smith, as a place from which to conduct the business of a cattle drover. This unlettered old cripple of Essex county had a bad memory for history; but undoubtedly his memory was wholly reliable so far as it dealt with the things he had actually seen. John Brown's farm as it now appears is largely cleared meadow land and pasture, although the dense forest lies in the background and reaches to the tops of the hills and mountains that form the serried horizon line. But through the vividness of the old man's simple descriptions I could see the forest growing where now I saw the scythe swinging, and down the lane I could imagine John Brown driving an ox team where now the smart coaches and four-in-hands from the summer hotels were driving up to the celebration. It happens that there is plenty of evidence besides the traditions of the old settlers of Essex county to show us the personal characteristics of John Brown. Nothing could be more severely plain and simple than the life he led, yet nothing could diminish a personal dignity that might have been mistaken for hauteur. He was not a man of many books besides the Bible,

of which his knowledge was profound. But a few other books also, he had read with thoroughness; and even if he read comparatively little, he thought comparatively much. He was a student of the history of revolutionary movements, and had pondered on the strategy of military campaigns, both ancient and modern.

If our own generation is not able to view the period of the anti-slavery agitation and the civil war with perfect dispassionateness, it is at least comforting to remember that the next generation will be in a position to render calm historic judgment without bias or prejudice. John Brown's character and work will then be studied afresh, and I am persuaded that far greater attention will be given than John Brown's contemporaries and immediate successors have bestowed to the essential strategy of his plans for the disintegration of the slave power. It may then become the accepted opinion that John Brown possessed strategic genius of a high order. While still a young man he had come to the conclusion that the Appalachian Range, from Maryland and Virginia to Georgia and the very borders of Florida, must afford the one position from which the slave power could be defied, assailed and eventually overthrown. It actually came to pass in the civil war that the Appalachian Range became the strength of the North and the weakness of the South. Slavery lay on both sides of the mountains, but the mountains themselves were inhabited by men who hated slavery and who fought on the Union side during the war. Furthermore, in those days there were very few railroads entering or crossing the Appalachian belt, and the whole afforested region was full of caves, dense ravines and almost inaccessible fastnesses.

It must also be remembered that in those days the southern slave power was in control of the national government at Washington, and that there was no prospect whatever of any effective movement against slavery by the northern states of a political or constitutional character,—much less of any appeal to physical force. John Brown was too bold a character and too large-minded a man to attach much importance to the mere rescue now and then of some individual slave whose escape to Canada was assisted. The purpose of the underground railway, and of the whole movement for assisting fugitive slaves, was not measured in any sense by the number of slaves assisted, but wholly by the disturbing effect upon the institution of slavery which could be produced in the South through the increasing insecurity of property in slaves, and through the constantly enhanced expense of guarding against escapes. Nor was it expected that a fomented uprising of slaves here or there would at once result in any vast insurrection of the enslaved race; but merely that the conditions of uneasiness and apprehension might lead the harassed South to take the view that the maintenance of slavery was no longer advantageous and that some form of emancipation must be adopted. The best plan John Brown could

devise, therefore, was a plan which would use the Appalachian Range as a place of retreat for runaway negroes, who would find themselves welcomed in well fortified mountain fastnesses in camps chosen for strategic advantage and commanded by men trained in Brown's own methods. He had studied profoundly the problem of supplying such camps with the means of subsistence. He had deemed it possible to connect the mountain camps with one another by obscure trails and hidden passages which an enemy could scarcely hope to find, and he expected to utilize many of the limestone caves and other possible places of retreat well known to exist in the mountains of the Alleghany ranges. He had conceived it possible to receive hosts of black fugitives in these mountain strongholds, where they would be supplied with arms and ammunition and where a handful of men could defend themselves against a regiment. Such a movement fairly entered upon would, in John Brown's opinion, inaugurate a guerilla warfare that could end only in the overthrow of slavery.

Whether this was a good plan or a poor plan is to be considered relatively. It was, at least, the plan of a man who was determined to strike at slavery in some fashion, and who had therefore only to consider by what means, in his generation, the most effective attack could be made. I am inclined to think posterity will concede that John Brown's plan,—entirely a plan of violence and revolution as it was,—was the best plan of a violent and revolutionary nature that could have been chosen. It is not at all unlikely that John Brown was particularly attracted to the Adirondacks because life in the rugged North Woods of New York would afford him and his band of stalwart sons a peculiarly good opportunity to learn the modes and possibilities of mountaineer life. John Brown had been married when only twenty years old, and after the death of his first wife was married a second time. He had large families by both wives, and his many sons were to a man devoted to the person and to the convictions of their father. The older boys were left behind in Ohio when John Brown's wool business took him to Massachusetts, and they accordingly never made their home on the Adirondack farm. But several of the younger sons were in the Adirondacks, and the Ohio sons maintained close sympathy and regular communication with their father. At the moment when the repeal of the Missouri Compromise made the fate of Kansas a question to be determined by the majority of settlers, on the



THE OLD STONE AT JOHN BROWN'S GRAVE.

principle of squatter sovereignty, John Brown, Jr., who was then living in Ohio, with the other Ohio sons of John Brown determined to migrate to southern Kansas and help hold that territory for freedom. It was to join them that in 1855 John Brown left his wife, daughters, and younger sons at the Adirondack farm and went to Ossawatimie, Kansas. It is no part of our task to review the Kansas struggle, which demonstrated John Brown's great courage and great capacity for leadership. Doubtless the murder of his son Frederick in the course of the Kansas controversy deepened the intensity of his purpose to strike yet more sturdy blows against the slave power. There is no reason, however, to believe that his second visit to Kansas in November, 1857, after visiting Massachusetts and other places in the North and East, as a speaker in behalf of the free soil settlers of the territory, was due to any desire for personal revenge. The personal motive becomes almost entirely eliminated from the character of a man like John Brown.

It was in the winter of 1858 that he returned to the Adirondack homestead to prepare for the long delayed but never abandoned project of lifting the banner of freedom somewhere in the mountain region of the Eastern slave states. He had at some earlier period become well acquainted with the Harper's Ferry region, and it lent itself to his purposes on many accounts. The United States arsenal at that point, containing an abundance of arms and ammunition, was considered so secure from any hostile attack that Brown believed it feasible to obtain control of it with a mere handful of men. He expected that upon the capture of the arsenal it would be possible to foment an uprising of negroes of the vicinity and to distribute to them the captured arms and ammunition, whereupon a retreat into the mountains which rise so abruptly from the

Potomac at Harper's Ferry, would be easy of accomplishment. How the plot was developed, how far the attack of October 17, 1859, succeeded, and why it failed in its immediate purpose,—all these things belong to another chapter.

John Brown was executed at Charleston, Virginia, on December 2, 1859. In accordance with his desire to be buried in the shadow of the old boulder in front of the Adirondack homestead, the heart-sore

widow brought the body over the wintry road from Westport, and a few neighbors and friends assisted at the burial. He had completed his fifty-ninth year in the previous May, although he looked an older man. The portrait of him which we produce as an illustration with this article is from a photograph of a picture that now hangs in the little library of the Adirondack homestead; and it is probably a good likeness of him in his last years.



IT was the wish of Kate Field, whose death several months ago in the Hawaiian Islands this REVIEW has already recorded, that her burial place should be somewhere on the John Brown farm, in the neighborhood of the tomb of him for whose permanent fame and honor she had tried to do something. It seems to us that it would be eminently fitting that her final resting place should be under the shadow of the granite stone erected by the Association in July, and that her name, with fitting memorial words, should be placed on the unscribed side of the block which has been erected to commemorate the purchase and preservation of the John Brown farm. There could be no reasonable objection to such a plan, and there would be eminent propriety in it.

Mrs. Mary Stuart Armstrong of Chicago, who was a friend of Kate Field, together with Mr. Kohlsaat of the *Chicago Times-Herald*, is actively interesting herself in the plan of a memorial to Kate Field, and was present on the occasion of the transfer of the John Brown farm in July. Her address is 405 Fisher Building, Chicago, and she will readily supply information to any who may desire to assist in honoring the memory of a woman whose whole life was devoted to patriotic ends. It is to *Elite*, the illustrated weekly edited by Mrs. Armstrong, that we are indebted for the portrait of Kate Field herewith presented—the most satisfactory likeness of the lamented writer that we have ever seen.

THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE ON ARBITRATION.

FROM LORD RUSSELL'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

AT SARATOGA, AUGUST 20, 1896.

IN 1890 the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States adopted a concurrent Resolution, requesting the President to make use of any fit occasion to enter into negotiations with other Governments, to the end that any difference or dispute, which could not be adjusted by diplomatic agency, might be referred to arbitration and peacefully adjusted by such means.

The British House of Commons in 1893 responded by passing unanimously a Resolution expressive of the satisfaction it felt with the action of Congress, and of the hope that the Government of the Queen would lend its ready co-operation to give effect to it. President Cleveland officially communicated this last Resolution to Congress, and expressed his gratification that the sentiments of two great and kindred nations were thus authoritatively manifested in favor of the national and peaceable settlement of International quarrels by recourse to honorable arbitration. The Parliaments of Denmark, Norway, and Switzerland and the French Chamber of Deputies have followed suit.

It seemed eminently desirable that there should be some agency, by which members of the great Representative and Legislative Bodies of the World, interested in this far-reaching question, should meet on a common ground and discuss the basis for common action.

With this object there has recently been founded "The Permanent Parliamentary Committee in favor of Arbitration and Peace," or, as it is sometimes called, "The Inter-Parliamentary Union." This Union has a permanent organization—its office is at Berne. Its members are not vain Idealists. They are men of the world. They do not claim to be regenerators of mankind, nor do they promise the millennium, but they are doing honest and useful work in making straighter and less difficult the path of intelligent progress. Their first formal meeting was held in Paris in 1889 under the Presidency of the late M. Jules Simon; their second in 1890 in London under the Presidency of Lord Herschell, ex-Lord Chancellor of Great Britain; their third in 1891 at Rome under the Presidency of Signor Bianchieri; their fourth in 1892 at Berne under the Presidency of M. Droz; their fifth in 1894 at the Hague under the Presidency of M. Rohnsen; their sixth in 1895 at Brussels under the Presidency of M. Deschamps; and their seventh will, it is arranged, be held this year at Buda-Pesth. Speaking in this place, I need only refer, in passing, to the remarkable Pan-American Congress held in your States in 1890 at the instance of the late Mr. Blaine, directed to the same peaceful object.

It is obvious, therefore, that the sentiment for peace and in favor of Arbitration as the alternative for war, is growing apace. How has that sentiment told on the direct action of Nations? How far have they shaped their Policy according to its methods? The answers to these questions are also hopeful and encouraging.

Experience has shown that, over a large area, International differences may honorably, practically and usefully be dealt with by peaceful arbitrament. There have been since 1815 some sixty instances of effective

International Arbitration. To thirty-two of these the United States have been a party and Great Britain to some twenty of them.

There are many instances also of the introduction of Arbitration clauses into Treaties. Here again the United States appear in the van. Among the first of such Treaties—if not the very first—is the Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty of 1848 between the United States and Mexico. Since that date many other countries have followed this example. In the year 1873 Signor Mancini recommended that, in all Treaties to which Italy was a party, such a clause should be introduced. Since the Treaty of Washington such clauses have been constantly inserted in Commercial, Postal and Consular Conventions. They are to be found also in the delimitation Treaties of Portugal with Great Britain and with the Congo Free State made in 1891. In 1895 the Belgian Senate, in a single day, approved of four Treaties, with similar clauses, namely, Treaties concluded with Denmark, Greece, Norway and Sweden.

There remains to be mentioned a class of Treaties in which the principle of arbitration has obtained a still wider acceptance. The Treaties of 1888 between Switzerland and San Salvador, of 1888 between Switzerland and Ecuador, of 1888 between Switzerland and the French Republic, and of 1894 between Spain and Honduras, respectively contain an agreement to refer all questions in difference, without exception, to arbitration. Belgium has similar Treaties with Venezuela, with the Orange Free State and with Hawaii.

These facts, dull as is the recital of them, are full of interest and hope for the future.

But are we thence to conclude that the Millennium of Peace has arrived—that the Dove bearing the olive branch has returned to the Ark, sure sign that the waters of international strife have permanently subsided?

I am not sanguine enough to lay this flattering unction to my soul. Unbridled ambition—thirst for wide dominion—pride of power still hold sway, although I believe with lessened force and in some sort under the restraint of the healthier opinion of the world.

But further, friend as I am of Peace, I would yet affirm that there may be even greater calamities than war—the dishonor of a nation, the triumph of an unrighteous cause, the perpetuation of hopeless and debasing tyranny:

"War is honorable,
In those who do their native rights maintain;
In those whose swords an iron barrier are,
Between the lawless spoiler and the weak;
But is, in those who draw th' offensive blade
For added power or gain, sordid and despicable."

It behooves then all who are friends of Peace and advocates of Arbitration to recognize the difficulties of the question, to examine and meet these difficulties and to discriminate between the cases in which friendly Arbitration is, and in which it may not be, practically, possible.

Pursuing this line of thought, the shortcomings of

International Law reveal themselves to us and demonstrate the grave difficulties of the position.

The analogy between Arbitration as to matters in difference between individuals, and to matters in difference between nations, carries us but a short way.

In private litigation the agreement to refer is either enforceable as a rule of Court, or, where this is not so, the award gives to the successful litigant a substantive cause of action. In either case there is behind the Arbitrator the power of the Judge to decree, and the power of the Executive to compel compliance with, the behest of the Arbitrator. There exist elaborate rules of Court and provisions of the Legislature governing the practice of arbitrations. In fine, such arbitration is a mode of litigation by consent, governed by Law, starting from familiar rules, and carrying the full sanction of Judicial decision. International Arbitration has none of these characteristics. It is a cardinal principle of the Law of Nations that each sovereign power, however politically weak, is internationally equal to any other power, however politically strong. There are no Rules of International Law relating to arbitration, and of the Law itself there is no authoritative exponent nor any recognized authority for its enforcement.

But there are differences to which, even as between individuals, arbitration is inapplicable—subjects which find their counterpart in the affairs of nations. Men do not arbitrate where character is at stake, nor will any self-respecting nation readily arbitrate on questions touching its national independence or affecting its honor.

Again, a nation may agree to arbitrate and then repudiate its agreement. Who is to coerce it? Or, having gone to arbitration and been worsted, it may decline to be bound by the Award. Who is to compel it?

These considerations seem to me to justify two conclusions: The first is that arbitration will not cover the whole field of International controversy, and the second that unless and until the Great Powers of the World, in League, bind themselves to coerce a recalcitrant member of the Family of Nations—we have still to face the more than possible disregard by powerful States of the obligations of good faith and of justice. The scheme of such a combination has been advocated, but the signs of its accomplishment are absent. We have, as yet, no League of Nations of the Amphictyonic type.

Are we then to conclude that Force is still the only power that rules the world? Must we then say that the sphere of arbitration is a narrow and contracted one?

By no means. The sanctions which restrain the wrongdoer—the breaker of public faith—the disturber of the peace of the world, are not weak, and, year by year, they wax stronger. They are the dread of war and the reprobation of mankind. Public opinion is a force which makes itself felt in every corner and cranny of the world, and is most powerful in the communities most civilized. In the public Press and in the Telegraph, it possesses agents by which its power is concentrated, and speedily brought to bear where there is any public wrong to be exposed and reprobated. It year by year gathers strength as general enlightenment extends its empire, and a higher moral altitude is attained by mankind. It has no ships of war upon the seas or armies in the field, and yet great Potentates tremble before it and humbly bow to its Rule.

Again Trade and Travel are great pacificators. The more Nations know of one another, the more Trade relations are established between them, the more good-will

and mutual interest grow up; and these are powerful agents working for Peace.

But although I have indicated certain classes of questions on which sovereign powers may be unwilling to arbitrate, I am glad to think that these are not the questions which most commonly lead to war. It is hardly too much to say that Arbitration may fitly be applied in the case of by far the largest number of questions which lead to International differences. Broadly stated, (1) wherever the right in dispute will be determined by the ascertainment of the true facts of the case; (2) where, the facts being ascertained, the right depends on the application of the proper principles of International Law to the given facts, and (3) where the dispute is one which may properly be adopted on a give-and-take principle, with due provision for equitable compensation, as in cases of delimitation of territory and the like—in such cases the matter is one which ought to be arbitrated.

The question next arises what ought to be the constitution of the Tribunal of Arbitration? Is it to be a Tribunal *ad hoc*, or is it to be a permanent International Tribunal?

It may be enough to say that at this stage the question of the constitution of a permanent Tribunal is not ripe for practical discussion, nor will it be until the majority of the Great Powers have given their adhesion to the principle. But whatever may be said for vesting the authority in such Powers to select the Arbitrators, from time to time, as occasion may arise, I doubt whether in any case a permanent Tribunal, the members of which shall be *a priori* designated, is practicable or desirable. In the first place, what, in the particular case, is the best Tribunal must largely depend upon the question to be arbitrated. But apart from this, I gravely doubt the wisdom of giving that character of permanence to the *personnel* of any such Tribunal. The interests involved are commonly so enormous and the forces of national sympathy, pride and prejudice are so searching, so great and so subtle, that I doubt whether a Tribunal, the membership of which had a character of permanence, even if solely composed of men accustomed to exercise the judicial faculty, would long retain general confidence, and, I fear, it might gradually assume intolerable pretensions.

There is danger, too, to be guarded against from another quarter. So long as War remains the sole Court wherein to try international quarrels the risks of failure are so tremendous, and the mere rumor of war so paralyzes commercial and industrial life, that pretensions wholly unfounded will rarely be advanced by any nation, and the strenuous efforts of statesmen, whether immediately concerned or not, will be directed to prevent war. But if there be a standing Court of Nations, to which any power may resort, with little cost and no risk, the temptation may be strong to put forward pretentious and unfounded claims, in support of which there may readily be found, in most countries (can we except even Great Britain and the United States?) busybody Jingoism only too ready to air their spurious and inflammatory patriotism.

There is one influence which by the Law of Nations may be legitimately exercised by the Powers in the interests of Peace—I mean Mediation.

The Plenipotentiaries assembled at the Congress of Paris, 1856, recorded the following admirable sentiments in their 23rd protocol: "The Plenipotentiaries do not hesitate to express, in the names of their Governments,

the wish that States between which any serious misunderstanding may arise should, before appealing to arms, have recourse as far as circumstances may allow to the good offices of a friendly power. The Plenipotentiaries hope that the Governments not represented at the Congress will unite in the sentiment which has inspired the wish recorded in the present protocol.

In the treaty which they concluded they embodied, but with a more limited application, the principle of mediation, more formal than that of good offices, though substantially similar to it. In case of a misunderstanding between the Porte and any of the signatory powers, the obligation was undertaken "before having recourse to the use of force, to afford the other contracting parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation." (Art. 8.) Under this article Turkey, in 1877, appealed to the other powers to mediate between her and Russia. It is not, perhaps, to be wondered at, considering the circumstances, that the appeal did not succeed in preventing the Russo-Turkish War. But the powers assembled in the African Conference at Berlin were not discouraged from repeating the praiseworthy attempt, and in the final act of that Conference the following proviso (Article 12) appears:

"In case of a serious disagreement arising between the signatory powers on any subjects within the limits of the Territory mentioned in Article I and placed under the *régime* of commercial freedom, the Powers mutually agree, before appealing to arms, to have recourse to the mediation of one or more of the neutral powers."

It is to be noted that this provision contemplates not arbitration but mediation, which is a different thing. The Mediator is not, at least in the first instance, invested, and does not seek to be invested, with authority to adjudicate upon the matter in difference. He is the friend of both parties. He seeks to bring them together. He avoids a tone of dictation to either. He is careful to avoid, as to each of them, anything which may wound their political dignity or their susceptibilities. If he cannot compose the quarrel, he may at least narrow its area and probably reduce it to more limited dimensions, the result of mutual concessions; and, having narrowed the issues, he may pave the way for a final settlement by a reference to arbitration or by some other method.

This is a Power often used, perhaps not so often as it ought to be—and with good results.

It is obvious that it requires tact and judgment, as to mode, time and circumstance, and that the task can be undertaken hopefully only where the Mediator possesses great moral influence and where he is beyond the suspicion of any motive except desire for Peace and the public good.

There is, perhaps, no class of question in which mediation may not, time and occasion being wisely chosen, be usefully employed, even in delicate questions affecting national honor and sentiment.

Mr. President, I come to an end. I have but touched the fringe of a great subject. No one can doubt that sound and well-defined rules of International Law conduce to the progress of civilization and help to insure the Peace of the World.

In dealing with the subject of arbitration I have thought it right to sound a note of caution, but it would, indeed, be a reproach to our nineteen centuries of Christian civilization if there were now no better method for settling international differences than the cruel and debasing methods of war. May we not hope that the people of these States and the people of the

Mother Land—kindred peoples—may, in this matter, set an example, of lasting influence, to the world? They are blood relations. They are indeed separate and independent peoples, but neither regards the other as a Foreign nation.

We boast of our advance and often look back with pitying contempt on the ways and manners of generations gone by. Are we ourselves without reproach? Has our Civilization borne the true marks? Must it not be said, as has been said of Religion itself, that countless crimes have been committed in its name? Probably it was inevitable that the weaker races should, in the end, succumb, but have we always treated them with consideration and with justice? Has not civilization too often been presented to them at the point of the bayonet and the Bible by the hand of the Filibuster? And apart from races we deem barbarous, is not the passion for dominion and wealth and power accountable for the worst chapters of cruelty and oppression written in the World's History? Few peoples—perhaps none—are free from this reproach. What indeed is true Civilization? By its fruit you shall know it. It is not dominion, wealth, material luxury; nay, not even a great Literature and Education widespread—good though these things be. Civilization is not a veneer; it must penetrate to the very heart and core of societies of men.

Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for woman, the frank recognition of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or color or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world, the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of justice. Civilization in that, its true, its highest sense, must make for Peace. We have solid grounds for faith in the Future. Government is becoming more and more, but in no narrow class sense, government of the people, by the people and for the people. Populations are no longer moved and manœuvred as the arbitrary will or restless ambition or caprice of Kings or Potentates may dictate. And although democracy is subject to violent gusts of passion and prejudice, they are gusts only. The abiding sentiment of the masses is for peace—for peace to live industrious lives and to be at rest with all mankind. With the Prophet of old they feel—though the feeling may find no articulate utterance—"how beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace."

Mr. President, I began by speaking of the two great divisions—American and British—of that English-speaking world which you and I represent to-day, and with one more reference to them I end.

Who can doubt the influence they possess for insuring the healthy progress and the peace of mankind? But if this influence is to be fully felt, they must work together in cordial friendship, each people in its own sphere of action. If they have great power, they have also great responsibility. No cause they espouse can fail; no cause they oppose can triumph. The future is, in large part, theirs. They have the making of history in the times that are to come. The greatest calamity that could befall would be strife which should divide them.

Let us pray that this shall never be. Let us pray that they, always self respecting, each in honor upholding its own Flag, safeguarding its own Heritage of right and respecting the rights of others, each in its own way fulfilling its high national destiny, shall yet work in harmony for the Progress and the Peace of the World.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE ENGLISH REVIEWS ON THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

MR. A. J. WILSON, editor of the *Investor's Review*, who, though a pronounced pessimist, is recognized as one of the ablest of English authorities on financial questions, finds in the Chicago convention sufficiently sombre material:

"The 'Populist' manifesto, to which the great majority of the delegates subscribed, is as the cry of those who have suffered from the dishonest finance of the Republican party during its long tenure of power, the wail of the masses who have been ground in the dust by the monstrous customs tariff, maintained on false pretenses for the benefit of the few at the cost of a whole people. The formulas adopted with enthusiasm by the great mass of the delegates assembled last month in Chicago show us that it is not 'cheap money' merely which the seething masses of the discontented demand, but a revolution.

"War is to be waged against the millionaires and their monopolies, against the policy of sustaining credit by adding to the public debt, against the privileges of the few, and, above all, against every description of usury. It is useless to pooh-pooh utterances such as these; they mean a great deal more than the moneyed and comfortable classes in the United States would have us believe. They interpret to us the feelings which lay at the back of the railway revolt of two winters ago, and show to Europe that the people of the United States are confronted by a social upheaval, strenuous, militant, organized, and backed by discontent of a kind we know only too well in Europe, but which the comfortable classes in America have hitherto considered almost peculiar to the Old World. The Republic has not brought peace, happiness, and comfort to the mass of its inhabitants. The selfish, grasping, immoral business and political habits which have subjected the country to the domination of such dragons as the Jay Goulds, the Huntingtons, the Vanderbilts, and the whole brood of protection-nurtured monopolists, or to the numerous corporations and trusts controlled by them, have brought the nation to the threshold of a revolution.

"In the West and South particularly the strain has been felt with increasing severity every year, for on the South the Republican tariff, which reached the height of its monstrosity in the so-called McKinley law, has been from the first as a sentence of death, and the indebtedness of farmers over many parts of the West has gradually become intolerable, as year after year passes with low prices for their products and increasingly restricted markets. Those who borrowed in the good days of the '70's

and early '80's at 10 per cent. now pay 20 per cent., or more, measured by the money yield of their crops."

Strangely Mr. Wilson sees in the programme of the Democratic convention some prospect of good. He says:

"Taken all round, this Populist programme, which the great bulk of the new Democratic party in the States has framed to appeal to the country upon, is not such a mad affair from the point of view of the condition and temper of the great majority of the American people as it naturally seems to us. As a means to an end, and that end revolution, it has been constructed with no little skill, and it may, helped by the enthusiasm of conviction, carry everything before it. We certainly cannot count on an easy win for McKinley and what he represents, and therefore it might be wise for us to prepare for the worst.

"Bimetallism we know to be an impossibility, but a forced paper currency based on silver, which is what the States are coming to, is capable of affording just that kind of temporary fillip wanted there to enable the nation to cast off the fetters of protection without half perishing in the process. 'Cheap money,' in the sense of abundant currency of low quality, might lift prices for a time, and give a passing flush of prosperity which would prevent the people from feeling the confusion and loss of work, sure to be the first effect of a return to unfettered trade."

It would seem that he would prefer Mr. Bryan's success to that of Mr. McKinley, for in his eyes the extreme protectionist policy of Mr. McKinley is the direct progenitor of the distress which in its turn has brought about the revolutionary agitation:

"In selecting him as their candidate for the Presidency, the Republican party seems to us to have gone very low down indeed in the scale of public men. Mr. McKinley's public utterances have never conveyed to us the idea that he was a man of ability, still less that he was a man of sincere and strong convictions. He is the product of the political 'machine,' pure and simple, and into the keeping of that machine the inhabitants of the United States appear to have committed their future 'beyond remedy.'"

Is It Repudiation?

The writer of the article "Money and Investments" in the *Contemporary Review* shakes his head solemnly over the nomination of Mr. Bryan. He says:

"However thoroughly Mr. Bryan may be defeated, it is not encouraging to holders of American securities to see one of the great parties, and that party,

moreover, which has favored a more liberal tariff policy, and has maintained views on finance which are more in accordance with British notions, suddenly converted by an uncontrollable impulse into a party of repudiation and *novæ tabulæ*, and submitted to the guidance of such a man as Governor Altgeld of Illinois, an avowed anarchist, and the supporter of Debs and the 'Coxey march,' who might apparently have himself made a strong bid for nomination, had he not been prevented by his alien birth. And the seriousness of the situation is by no means lessened when we recognize that this revolt against capital and credit and the whole financial fabric finds a good deal of justification in the methods which capital has used in the United States to exploit the rest of the community to its own advantage. Corners, trusts, and pools, and other such devices for rigging markets and putting an artificial value on articles of common consumption are—as long as they last—'good business' for the rich syndicates which promote them, aided by the tariff barrier, which prevents the free play of supply and demand. But there comes a point at which the general community is bound to revolt against such practices, and to assert that it will no longer be bound by the contracts which have been made under such circumstances."

By an American Alarmist.

The most alarming estimate of the present condition of things in America is supplied by an American, Mr. W. L. Alden, who contributes a paper, entitled "War to the Knife," to the *Nineteenth Century*. Mr. Alden is haunted by the dread of a new war of secession. He says:

"As the North was blind to the danger of secession, so the American people have been blind to the steadily growing danger that the federal government may, at no distant day, fall into the hands of the silverites, and that the eastern states will then be compelled to choose between utter ruin and withdrawal from the Union.

"The average western American is a man of unbounded energy, unbounded self-conceit, and unbounded ignorance. It is to the ignorant West that the United States owe the greenback folly, the protectionist delusion, and the silver craze.

"American optimism shirks the confession that the West dislikes the East."

Of the near future he says:

"The probabilities are at present in favor of the election of McKinley. But a defeat of the silverites this year simply postpones their victory for four brief years."

The new century, therefore, will begin with the establishment at Washington of the nominee of the persistent silverites. Mr. Alden says:

"That the free and unlimited coinage of silver means the utter ruin of the East, goes without saying. When the silverites gain possession of the federal government, the East must submit, with what grace it can muster, to complete and hopeless

bankruptcy, or it must withdraw from the Union, and endeavor to maintain its independence by arms."

The Moderation of the Chicago Platform.

The *National Review* for August, which is more or less bimetallist, takes a much more moderate view of the Chicago programme than the other organs of British opinion. The editor says:

"Is the Chicago platform the 'atrocities' Mr. Smalley and the *Times* consider it to be, or the 'infamy' that the Anglo-New York paper, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, labels it? It has unfortunately not been published textually in London, but the extracts that have appeared are far from warranting such epithets. There is a declaration in favor of an income tax and a reduced tariff, a denunciation of 'trafficking with banking syndicates' by the Federal Treasury, of pauper immigration and arbitrary federal interference with the local authority, also of trusts and pools. Mr. Bryan has supplemented these heinous proposals by declaring for the popular election of senators, a liberal pension policy, the strict control of railroads and other public corporations, arbitration, and 'the operation of the telegraph by the government in connection with the postal system,' while he is against a second presidential term. Surely this is a very moderate manifesto compared, *e. g.*, to the Newcastle programme—it might have been drawn up by some staid Liberal Unionist."

Mr. Norman, writing in the *Cosmopolis*, says:

"The silver movement is fraught, I am convinced, with the gravest dangers. Mr. McKinley, there is little doubt, is certain of election, but there is a great struggle ahead of the United States, if not this year then four years hence, a struggle which is already sectional and which may become revolutionary. It will be the penalty America pays for her leaps and bounds of prosperity, unrestrained by tradition and unchecked by public opinion."

A GOLD-STANDARD DEMOCRAT ON THE CAMPAIGN.

THE Hon. Josiah Quincy of Boston writes in the *North American Review* for August on the "Issues and Prospects of the Campaign" from the point of view of an Eastern Democrat, a delegate to the Chicago convention, "unable to transform himself into an advocate either of the free coinage of silver or of populism, and yet equally unable to give his support to Mr. McKinley and the Republican party."

MR. BRYAN'S CANDIDACY.

As to the Chicago candidate, Mr. Quincy says: "However weak the nomination of Mr. Bryan might be under other conditions, or upon a different platform, there is every reason to believe that he is the best possible nominee for the Democratic party in

its present situation, from the mere standpoint of success at the coming election. Candidate and platform are in complete accord. On such a radical platform there would have been no appreciable advantage in nominating a man of more conservative views and instincts. If success with such a programme be possible, it needs a man with the enthusiasm and audacity of youth to achieve it. Ordinarily it would not be good policy for a great political party to nominate for the presidency, chiefly upon his ability as an orator, a man of Mr. Bryan's youth, comparative lack of experience in public affairs, and radicalism of views. But in the face of the present situation, the very boldness of the nomination gives it a certain strength. The exigency called for a candidate possessed of personal magnetism, able to give eloquent expression before a popular audience to the sentiments underlying the movement. The sort of warfare which may be expected from him may prove more effective than is now anticipated in some quarters. The instinct of the convention in selecting the presidential nominee, for the first time in the history of American politics, from a state west of the Mississippi, was a sound one from the standpoint of political expediency. A Western candidate will win far more support in that section of the country than a Southern candidate could do, while he will probably hold the South about as well as a Southern man. Upon the platform adopted, the obvious policy of the party was to play for the Populist vote; to make an entirely new departure, creating a new party under an old name. The nomination of Mr. Bryan is more consistent with this policy than any other which could have been made, unless, indeed, Senator Teller could have been taken up, and the unwisdom of nominating him was recognized by nearly everybody in the convention. The past political course of the candidate commends him at least as much to Populists as to Democrats. Before these lines can be read the action of the Populist convention at St. Louis will have been taken; the writer thinks it safe to assume that either Mr. Bryan will be indorsed, or that some arrangement will be made, then or later, by which he can secure the Populist votes.

"The nomination of Mr. Sewall of Maine for Vice-President, while made in the convention upon the spur of the moment, and chiefly for the purpose of avoiding possible mistakes in other directions, is mainly significant as indicating a desire to refute the ideas that the new movement is a sectional one of the South and the farther West against the East; probably it was also intended to afford a conspicuous demonstration of the fact that every successful business man will not necessarily be opposed to the Democratic party in its new policy."

Mr. Quincy then enters on a somewhat elaborate calculation of the voting strength of the parties to show that the success of the Chicago ticket in November is "at least neither impossible nor highly improbable."

THE MONETARY SITUATION AND THE UNITED STATES.

IN the *National Review* for August appears the address delivered by President Francis A. Walker at the annual meeting of the Bimetallic League held in London, July 13, 1896.

President Walker's opening paragraph contains one of the most significant passages in the entire address: "Were the City of London to give its consent, bimetallism might at once be established on a broad and enduring basis. Of all the vast expanse of the globe, one square mile alone blocks the way to the adoption of a world's money as wide as the world's trade. The veto of this city rests upon a monetary policy which has approved itself by long and beneficent operation; a monetary policy, the economic validity and practical efficiency of which have been admitted with absolute unanimity by the most distinguished commission which since the great inquests on the bank charter, fifty and sixty years ago, has been assembled in this country—a monetary policy which the nations of the earth never needed so greatly as to-day."

President Walker proceeds to explain the present attitude of the different European states on the money question as follows:

"Probably no one in this audience doubts that, in this matter, Germany would cheerfully and promptly second the action of the United Kingdom; and would do all that England would do, in general and in particular, for the restoration of that parity between the metals, the loss of which her imperial Parliament has recently declared to have been the cause of wide and deep disaster. France, on her part, has long stood ready to resume, with due and proper support from other financial powers, that beneficent function which for seventy years she exercised practically alone, to the inexpressible advantage of the commercial world, and to the advantage of no country more than to that of England, whose 'stupendous and never ceasing exports'—to use the phrase of Mr. Goschen—were in so small measure the fruit of an approximate part of exchange between the silver-using and gold-using nations, during the period while her manufacturers were growing from small beginnings into gigantic and far-reaching enterprises. Holland, the classic land of finance, from which, as Lord Macaulay points out, England derived her system of banking, of funding, and of taxation, Holland is ready and eager to join in the establishment of a monetary policy which would bring order out of the weltering chaos into which trade and production were plunged by the ill-considered action of twenty years ago. Belgium and Italy, of the now suspended Latin Union, are like-minded. Few doubt that Russia would accede to a bimetallic convention; most believe that Austria would do the same. My own country, with seventy millions of people, is only too eager and anxious to see the wrong of the past righted by the remonetization of silver."

SIGNIFICANCE OF RECENT EVENTS.

President Walker's address was delivered just after the Chicago convention, and what he had to say concerning the Chicago platform naturally interested his auditors:

"It would not be becoming for me to enter, here, upon partisan predictions; but I confidently believe that the maintenance of the gold standard in the United States is not a whit less secure, by reason of anything that was done at Chicago last week. In spite of many friendly suggestions from this side of the water, we are not going to pull anybody's chestnuts out of the fire. The United States will maintain the position it has so long held, as a nation thoroughly believing in bimetalism, and, in the main, disinterestedly desirous to promote that object, yielding place to none in its readiness to make all reasonable exertions, and sustain all reasonable sacrifices, for the common good. But the great Republic of the West will make no doubtful experiments in finance, at any rate, none more questionable than what it did in 1878 and 1890. The bonds of the United States will continue to be paid in gold coin or its full equivalent; and its credit will stand where it has ever stood since the triumphant vindication of its nationality, in the War of Secession."

THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS AND THEIR RESULT.

THE recent Liberal victory in Canada is the subject of an article by Mr. J. W. Russell in the August *North American Review*. Of the part played by the Manitoba school question in the campaign, Mr. Russell says:

"The French Canadians are, politically, loyal to Great Britain and to the federal pact under which they live; but they are also passionately devoted to their racial development and their religion. The Pope has nowhere more faithful spiritual subjects; they have been called the most Catholic community in the world. The school question imposed upon them a severe test—a course of action in which religious subserviency and civic duty contended for the mastery. The legal and technical details of that question are of little interest to American readers, and with its salient points they are already familiar. The upshot of the long struggle in the courts was a decision of the Imperial Privy Council, which, in effect, did not finally decide, but referred the question back to the Dominion government, with the result of its introduction as an issue in federal politics. Manitoba was ordered to restore the separate schools, and replied in a vigorous refusal; the government tried to pass a remedial bill and failed, after which it appealed to the country to indorse its policy of coercion. In doing so its chief reliance was upon the Catholic hierarchy; and the well-known mandate of the Quebec bishops, commanding all the faithful in that province to support the government, was deemed a weapon of such strength

and edge as nothing could resist. This unwise course occasioned the greatest surprise of the election, and forty-seven members of the House of Commons, out of a total of sixty-five in Quebec, were returned in direct opposition to their spiritual guides and in support of their eloquent fellow-countryman, the Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal leader. This unexpected revolt has given new hope and meaning to the national life and progress. Hitherto considered the least enlightened and independent portion of the Dominion, Quebec has 'stamped her strong foot and said she would be free,' and has given a memorable rebuke to arrogant clericalism. The distinct functions of church and state have been splendidly emphasized just when and where the lesson was most needed; and the vexatious question of priestly interference in politics, which has had a continuous existence in Canada since confederation, will never again exert its former power of disturbance."

TARIFF, RECIPROCITY AND ANNEXATION.

The Liberals, Mr. Russell says, are eager for reciprocity with the United States, but not prepared to go unpatriotic lengths in the obtaining of it. They are not annexationists: "They have promised to make no tariff amendments without due notice to the interests affected, and a careful inquiry and deliberation will precede any legislative changes, which will chiefly be the lowering of duties upon the raw material of manufactures. As nearly as can be inferred from the utterances of responsible men and leading journals before the election, the new tariff will average about 20 per cent. upon dutiable imports."

A Canadian Editor's Views.

The editor of the Quebec *Chronicle*, Mr. George Stewart, contributes to the *Forum* an article on the significance of the recent elections. Apart from the disturbing influence of the Manitoba school issue, Mr. Stewart finds various causes sufficient to account for the Liberal victory.

"The stagnation of trade, the general business depression, and the shrinkages in values, creating a strong feeling of unrest and distrust everywhere, contributed also their quota to the fall of the government. The high tariff in but few instances afforded any relief for the decline in affairs. The people, eager for a change, and in a spirit almost of desperation, welcomed a platform which, at least, was different from the one which had prevailed for nearly two decades. They were prepared to accept it all the sooner when they were told that the changes proposed would be gradual and not revolutionary or drastic. The Conservatives offered no change in the diet, and persisted in declaring that their policy of protection had created prosperity in the country. The electors took their choice, and the axe fell on the national policy and the promises which had been made in its behalf."

The overthrow of the government also calls at-

tention anew to the decline of Conservative leadership in Canada.

"With the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, passed away forever in Canada what might be called dictatorial leadership. One-man power has seen its last day, and no successor will come. The influence exerted by Sir John was remarkable. His word was law; his commands were never disobeyed. In the hollow of his hand he virtually held the policy, the principles, the doctrines, and the members of the party which recognized him as its chieftain. Indeed, the party, as it existed during his time, was largely of his own creation. He was himself the party. As he grew in years, the men who began life with him continued to shower their tokens of love and devotion upon him. The younger men took their places in the grooves, and awaited his orders. He was a lucky captain, and his ship never lacked sailors, the ancient superstition holding good in his case. When he was called to another scene the times and the manners speedily underwent a change, and no Prime Minister since has been able to sway the party as he swayed it from the day he took command. Four tried it in as many years, but all failed. The conditions, evidently, are not as they used to be. There are many who still believe that had he lived there would have been no school-bill question to vex the voters. It would have been settled years ago by the methods peculiar to his genius."

ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION.

MR. MORLEY contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* for August a carefully considered examination of the negotiations which have taken place between the British and American governments on the subject of Anglo-American arbitration. The article is political rather than literary, and the following sentence is almost the only passage in which John Morley's skill as a penman reveals itself:

"Lord Salisbury sometimes argues as if he were debating with Kant, or Saint-Pierre, or any of those other grand utopians whose noble and benignant speculations have been the light of a world 'swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight, Where ignorant armies clash by night.' Mr. Olney is no Kant, but an acute lawyer. He is as far removed as possible from being a disputant of the utopian stamp. The Olney dispatches are not altogether in the key of the Olney hymns. He has made up his mind that the end desired by English and American alike is attainable, and he makes for it with a directness of vision and will that always marks the way in which great things are done."

THE VENEZUELAN FRONTIER.

The negotiations are twofold. There is first the question of the Venezuela frontier; secondly, the proposal to establish a permanent tribunal for arbitrating all future matters of dispute.

Dealing first with the Venezuela question, Mr. Morley says:

"The more diligently one endeavors to master this entangled mass, the clearer does it become that the whole field of the controversy, settled lands and all, presents matters with two sides to them, and claims for all of which something is to be said, and that if ever there was in the world a set of circumstances proper for arbitration, and if ever arbitration is to be good for any case, this is such a case."

A VERY NARROW DIFFERENCE.

He then points out how very closely Mr. Olney and Lord Salisbury have come to an agreement even on the question of arbitrating the settled districts. The case, he says, now stands thus:

"I will not accept an unrestricted arbitration about the settled districts," says Lord Salisbury, 'but I shall not complain if the tribunal should choose to make an unrestricted award even about the settled districts; and between ourselves, I may tell you in confidence that unless the award about the settled districts were manifestly unfair I should find it impossible to resist.' In other words, broken careers and ruined fortunes or not, Lord Salisbury admits that the decision of the tribunal against the title of the British occupiers would raise so strong a presumption that it would not be much less difficult to resist than if it were a definite award. That is where Lord Salisbury stands. How is the presence of elements of honor and integrity to be discovered and decided? This is the central pivot of the discussion.

"What Lord Salisbury desires, and rightly desires, is, as he says, to protect certain British colonists from having their careers broken and their fortunes possibly ruined. Mr. Olney is willing to direct the arbitrators to give such weight and effect to the position of these colonists as reason, justice, law, and the equities of the particular case may seem to require. But reason, justice, and the equities of the case would manifestly forbid the breaking of the careers and the ruin of the fortunes of men who had settled in the territory which they had every ground for believing to be British. Nobody who will take the trouble to scrutinize the difference between these two positions, and to realize how narrow it is—narrower, I think, than Lord Salisbury's speech would lead us to suppose—will doubt that an accommodation is inevitable, unless the same spirit of loitering which has for so many years haunted the Foreign Office in Venezuelan matters should still preside over these negotiations.

A FRANCO-DUTCH PRECEDENT.

"A precedent has been mentioned which is worth recalling. Five years ago the French and the Dutch could not agree about a boundary in Guiana. They both held that a certain river was the boundary, but they disputed the identity of the river. One said that the river in question, as marked on the map, was a certain stream; the other said it was quite

another stream. The question was referred to the Czar. The Czar declined to accept the task unless he was allowed to go into the whole question of the frontier. This was conceded. He decided that the Dutch were in the right, and that their river was the true boundary. But he added to his award the proviso—which is apt to the business that we now have in hand—that his award was to be without prejudice to the rights acquired *bonâ fide* by French settlers in the limits of the territory in dispute. This comes to pretty much the same thing as Mr. Olney's proviso; and who would say that the French would not have been wrong to refuse arbitration, lest they should be breaking the careers and possibly ruining the fortunes of the settlers whose rights the Czar thus safeguarded?"

THE QUESTION OF A GENERAL TREATY.

Then turning to the question of a general treaty of arbitration, he notes that both negotiators are agreed in excluding questions which involve the honor and integrity of the nation. He says:

"The matter is one of infinite delicacy and difficulty. In the Swiss-American draft treaty the parties agree to submit to arbitration all difficulties that may arise between the two states 'whatever may be the cause, the nature, or the object of such difficulties.' This is obviously impracticably wide for our case. In the plan adopted at the Pan-American Conference of 1890, the only excepted questions were to be such as, 'in the judgment of any one of the nations involved in the controversy, may imperil its independence.' This is a qualification which, in controversies between us and the United States, would be merely futile."

But, if it is agreed that the phrase "questions of honor and integrity" should stand, there arises the second question as to who shall decide what questions involve "honor and integrity":

"Mr. Olney's own proposal of a preliminary reference to Parliament or Congress seems not a little cumbrous, though he makes an ingenious defense for it. The whole policy of arbitration rests on the expediency of removing international disputes from the atmosphere of passion, and to ask a great national and popular assembly to decide beforehand whether a given dispute involves national honor or not will perhaps strike many persons as a questionable experiment for suppressing passion."

HOW TO AVOID TERRITORIAL DISPUTES.

Lord Salisbury in his reply practically narrows down the excepted questions to those relating to territorial rights. But as Mr. Morley points out, territorial questions can hardly arise between the United States and Great Britain, both of whom have well-defined frontiers. He says:

"It has been suggested that a clause might be added to the treaty of arbitration upon the basis of existing possessions, definitely prohibiting the raising of any questions relating to territory now in un-

disputed occupation. There is something like this, though not quite the same, in the sixth article of the Pan-American project. At any rate this ground of anxiety might be removed by the acceptance in the treaty of an authentic map of existing territories. So far as I am aware, the not very momentous dispute about the Alaskan boundary is the only ragged edge in territorial matters between Great Britain and the United States."

Mr. Morley touches lightly upon the question of the constitution of the tribunal, the right of appeal, and the rules which it would have to administer. He says:

"The truth is that the creation of a permanent tribunal would be the best way of improving the rules of what is called international law. Sir Henry Maine has some weighty remarks on the advantages of a permanent court or board of arbitrators over occasional adjudicators appointed *ad hoc*."

THE THINGS TO BE DONE.

Mr. Morley's conclusion is as well weighed as it is weighty. He says:

"If the principle of arbitration and a permanent tribunal were once established, and with reasonable securities and safeguards embodied in practical shape, that in itself would be an immense step toward lessening the chances of war, even in cases which lay outside the specific operations of the tribunal."

"The things to be done are to frame the exception clause, which, though difficult, is not beyond the expert skill of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Olney; and to shape the constitution and functions of the tribunal, as to which the two ministers could evidently come to an understanding in twenty-four hours. If these two things are done, the award should be final, or else we might almost as well or better leave the project alone."

"To leave it alone would, in the opinion of the present writer, be nothing short of a disaster to one of the greatest causes now moving the western world. If Lord Salisbury fails, the question, we may be sure, will be set fatally back for many a year to come."

Mr. Norman's Warning.

Mr. Henry Norman, writing upon the arbitration negotiations and the hitch about the settled districts, says:

"The American brief of Venezuela denies categorically that there are any British settlers there at all. The simplest way of settling this point would seem to be for three men, representing Great Britain, the United States, and Venezuela, to go themselves to the territory in question and see with their own eyes whether there are any settlers or not. This is probably far too simple a course to be adopted. I am only anxious that Englishmen should not believe that the storm has blown over, when there is only a lull."

A Prophecy of the Issue.

The editor of the *New England Magazine* recalls in his July number a prophecy uttered by Edward Everett Hale when preaching in 1889. It reads curiously in the light of the last eight months:

"The twentieth century will apply the word of the Prince of Peace to international life. The beginning will not be made at the end of war, but in some time of peace. The suggestion will come from one of the six great powers. It will be from a nation which has no large permanent military establishment; that is to say, it will probably come from the United States. This nation, in the most friendly way, will propose to the other great Powers to name each one jurist of world-wide fame, who with the other five shall form a permanent tribunal of the highest dignity. Everything will be done to give this tribunal the honor and respect of the world. As an international court, it will be organized without reference to any especial case under discussion. Then it will exist. Gradually the habit will be formed of consulting this august tribunal in all questions before states. More and more will men of honor and command feel that an appointment to serve on this tribunal is the highest human dignity. Of such a tribunal the decisions, though no musket enforce them, will be one day received of course."

THE FUTURE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE.

SIR WALTER BESANT, writing to the *North American Review* for August, indulges in prophecy concerning the nature of coming Anglo-Saxon dominion on this planet. Sir Walter expects to see republicanism grow in all parts of the British Empire, and as republicanism grows there will result a cleavage between the colonies, becoming every year wider and wider. "We shall then—say in fifty years—see six great English-speaking nations; every one will be more populous than France at the present day; filled with people who have absorbed all foreign admixtures; governed by the same laws; inheriting all the Anglo-Saxon qualities, virtues and weaknesses.

"The people of these nations will be unlike each other in peculiarities, due to climate; those of tropical Queensland, for instance, will differ in certain respects from the inhabitants of Toronto or Quebec. But in mind and in manners they will be all alike."

Our highest endeavor in the future, says Sir Walter, must be to make war forever impossible between these nations, and to this end he proposes a permanent court of arbitration, the mere existence of which, he thinks, will prevent cases of difference from arising.

A VISION OF PEACE ON EARTH.

"Now suppose such a board of arbitration to be established. What do we see in the future? The

six nations will be separate, yet united; each will be free to work out its own development in its own way; it will be impossible for them to quarrel; they will understand that free trade between themselves will be the best in their own interests; their press will be courteous, each to each; they will be rivals only in art, science and literature. Above all, they will form a firm alliance, offensive and defensive, with such a navy that all the world united in arms would be powerless against them. And, as an example for all the world to see, there will be the great federation of our race, an immense federation, free, law-abiding, peaceful, yet ready to fight; tenacious of old customs; dwelling continually with the same ideas; keeping, as their ancestors from Friesland did before them, each family as the unit; every home the centre of the earth; every township of a dozen men the centre of the government."

UNITED STATES COAST DEFENSES.

IN the August *Peterson*, Frank Heath, Jr., presents the argument for improved seacoast defenses, taking pains at the same time to point out the futility of increased expenditures by the United States for a navy, or even for land forces, while our coasts are exposed to foreign attack as at present.

"Because Great Britain has such an enormous sea power and holds supremacy on the ocean, is it, therefore, necessary that we adopt England as our standard, or devote all our efforts to securing a navy competent to contend with hers? Because Germany's chief attention is concentrated on the strength and discipline of her army, is it, therefore, necessary to adopt her as our standard of strength for land forces? It is unnecessary that we follow the lines of either, but it is necessary that we have a strong and proper system of defense and fully utilize the appropriations to the best advantage in securing it. The question arises, then, what is to the best advantage?

"Great Britain is an empire; her colonies are scattered over both hemispheres; her commerce extends to every quarter of the globe. Each colony is dependent upon the others for support. This necessitates a great foreign traffic and a correspondingly large commercial marine. Thus she requires a navy proportionally large to protect both this marine and the scattered colonies. The foreign possessions of Germany are few, if any, when compared with those of Great Britain. With the exception of a very small seacoast, she is entirely surrounded by foreign powers of a more or less aggressive nature. Hence it is that she devotes her attention more to the development of her army than to that of her navy. Thus we see each of these nations carefully defending itself according to the situation. The United States may almost be regarded as a continent in themselves. They have an Atlantic seaboard of over 3,000 miles, without taking into con-

sideration the extent of gulf coast on the south. Bordering on the Pacific is a coast line of nearly 5,000 miles. Both on the eastern and western coasts we are over 3,000 miles distant from any power that would necessitate the enlarging of our army if we were called upon to defend ourselves.

"On our seacoast there are at least thirty ports which demand, as an absolute necessity, the most modern means of protection, together with seventy others which also demand protection to a smaller extent. It is these great cities situated on our seacoast that hold the welfare of our country at stake. Nearly ten years ago Samuel J. Tilden wrote to Carlisle showing that in twelve United States seaports the property exposed to destruction by hostile fleets amounted in value to \$5,000,000,000, and this property has since then increased one-quarter in value.

DO WE NEED MORE SHIPS?

"The greater part of our foreign traffic is carried on in foreign vessels, while our coastwise commerce, although enormous, in case of war could be easily carried on by rail. The United States in time of war could be entirely independent of other countries for supplies of any importance or for general maintenance. These facts show that we would have no commerce requiring protection by the navy. We have no colonies to protect. Thus, our only need of ships is to represent us as a nation and to give what little protection is necessary to American subjects abroad. Our present navy is fully large enough to accomplish any work of this kind if called upon; and any additional money spent at the present time for an increase in the number of these vessels is that much less toward seacoast fortifications as a more perfect and necessary means of defense.

"Let us suppose one of our largest ports to be protected by naval vessels with no other support, and that they suddenly find themselves confronted by an opposing fleet. The foreign fleet would congregate all its forces at one point, and would thus be more powerful than our own, which must be necessarily scattered to protect the other important points along the coast. Defeat would be inevitable. The port would soon fall into the hands of the enemy. Tremendous indemnities could be exacted, which would not only increase the enemy's power of aggression, but cripple our own power of resistance. But what would the enemy's chances be if an attempt was made to enter one of our ports against a heavy fire from fortifications protecting the channel? Realizing the effectiveness of land guns, the enemy would necessarily keep at as long range as possible, thus not only diminishing its power of offense, but increasing that of our own defense. With the range of fire thus extended, the secondary battery on board a ship is practically useless. There is also more of a certainty of aim on land than on water. The constant rolling and motion of the vessel takes away the great accuracy of fire possessed by the heavy guns mounted on land. The pene-

trative power of all guns has been so accurately calculated that a fortification may be constructed able to resist the shot from navy guns of the highest power.

"Coast fortifications are the best means of defense for the United States; but assuming that the navy is a better means, it would be necessary to strongly fortify our harbors as a place of refuge for vessels that might be overmatched, others that are disabled, and as coaling stations and depots of supply. If there were no harbor of defense our vessels would be exposed to capture, and if captured would be utilized as agents against ourselves. Again we see the absolute necessity for fortifications; and even if the navy should be adopted as the supreme means of defense, it certainly would not long hold this supremacy without the land fortifications to support and protect it."

Mr. Heath then shows that the total expenditure required to protect the port of Baltimore, as estimated by the Fortifications Board, is only about two-thirds the cost of a single battle ship (the *Indiana*) without her armament.

OUR NAVAL MILITIA.

THE organization of a naval militia in the United States has been carried on so quietly that many of our readers are probably unaware of the existence of such an arm of military service. In the August *Outing* Lieut. W. H. Stayton tells the story of the movement in the following paragraphs:

"When the naval militia movement started, about six years ago, the promoters of the project expected to form a naval reserve, and designated the new forces by that name. It took but a short time, however, to demonstrate that such a movement cannot become national in its dimensions at its very inception. It is necessary to start by interesting a particular town or city in the movement; other towns or cities take up the interest; the representatives of the various towns finally interest the members of the state legislature, and so state aid is lent to the movement. Other states follow, and the representatives of these states in Congress enlist the aid of their fellow members, and congressional action follows, resulting in a national organization. The process is gradual and evolutionary.

"To day we have in twelve states a naval militia in the true sense of the words, and at the last session of Congress a bill was introduced at the suggestion of the Navy Department, looking to the enrollment of the National Naval Reserve.

"The necessity for a naval militia is apparent. It needs no argument to show the need for the existence of a land militia, and the necessity for a naval militia is still greater. Most Americans, whether from the seaboard or the interior, know something about the handling of fire-arms, and the experience of the Civil War showed that our citizens soon be-

same efficient soldiers, even in the days when battles were fought in solid and precise formations. It can hardly be doubted, in view of our national characteristics, that we should turn out better soldiers in a shorter period in these days of extended order and skirmish fighting. Few of our people, however, have the training that would fit them to readily become sailors. The duties of the sailor are more varied than those of the soldier, and in consequence it takes longer to make a man an efficient sailor than it does to make him an efficient soldier.

"Although at the breaking out of the Civil War our merchant marine was in condition to furnish us with hundreds of sailors where to-day it cannot furnish us with one, great difficulty was experienced during that war in obtaining men for service aboard ships. Should war break out to-day the difficulty would be infinitely greater, and it is to meet this difficulty that the naval militia is designed.

"The popularity of the movement and the growth of the force have been as striking as was the necessity which called it into being. Though barely five years have elapsed since the first naval militia organizations were mustered into service, we have to-day a well organized and fairly well armed and equipped body, equal in strength to one-half of the regular navy."

Lieutenant Stayton finds a reason for the growing popularity of this form of service in the variety which characterizes the drills. "In the state of New York, for instance, the National Guardsman has about twenty-five drills during the winter's drill season, and all of them are as infantry; meantime his brother of the sea militia has also twenty-five drills, but they include infantry, artillery, seamanship, signals, torpedoes, fencing, great guns, secondary batteries, rowing and sailing. The drilling is usually by squads, so that during one evening a man will be exercised in two or three different branches of his duties."

Each summer the naval militiaman has a week's tour of duty on a man-of-war, where he drills with the modern high-power guns and learns something about the new engines, search-lights, and torpedoes. In the vicinity of New York City there is much summer cruising in navy cutters up Long Island Sound and in other directions.

"The routine for the present summer shows that the Navy Department, too, is ready to take the third step which will insure national uniformity. Heretofore the department has sent men-of-war each summer to take the different organizations off on short cruises, but in no case have the organizations from two or more states been brought into co-operation. This year an important advance has been made by arranging that the naval militias of the states of Connecticut, Rhode Island and New York shall meet on the men-of-war, rendezvousing at Gardiner's Island, near the eastern entrance to Long Island Sound."

WHAT WAR WILL BE.

A Ghastly Description of Things to Come.

THERE is a very striking article in the *Fortnightly Review* by Mr. H. W. Wilson, entitled "The Human Animal in Battle. Mr. Wilson, the author of "Ironclads in Action," draws a very sombre picture as to the extent to which modern science and the conditions of modern campaigning tend to make war more horrible than it has ever been before.

"No words can depict the uproar and confusion of a battlefield. The tremendous thunder of the guns, the roar of bursting shells, the incessant roll of musketry, the dense clouds of dust, the yells of the combatants, the shrieks and groans of the wounded, the ghastly human fragments strewn the earth, the smell of sweat and powder, make up an appalling ensemble. With smokeless powder the whole battlefield will be visible, and there will be no screen between the fighters on either side."

THE DECAY OF RELIGION.

But that is not the only cause which aggravates the conditions of the battlefield of the future:

"The decay of religion, which is so widespread a feature of our times, has contributed to the downward progress of the individual, by making death more horrible because of the greater uncertainty of the future beyond the grave. The problem is how to implant courage and avoid panic. Courage is simply control of the nerves, and is largely due to the habit of confronting danger. This much is certain, that the future battle will be a severer trial to the nerves than any past encounter. To meet that trial the nerves of the modern civilized man are less fit than they were in the past."

HUNGER AND SLEEPLESSNESS.

Mr. Wilson points out what is too often true, that in any comparison between civic courage and that displayed by the soldier on the field of battle, the latter is as a rule tested under more trying physical conditions than the former:

"The soldier, as often as not, has to fight with empty stomach, without sleep, ill-clothed, and sickly in health. Hunger and sleeplessness are sore enemies to courage. Tents are rarely carried in modern armies, and on the bivouac no shelter is to be had. Dirt and its concomitant vermin are not less distressing to men accustomed to cleanliness. Worst of all is the want of food. The German 2nd Corps at Gravelotte marched twenty-three miles without food or water, and then engaged in the terrific combat in the Mance ravine. The French army of Marshal MacMahon, for whole days before the Sedan had received no proper rations, and ate what it could, which was very little. To Lee's Southern infantry raw onions were 'angel's food,' in their own expressive phrase; a few handfuls of unground maize or corn, a scanty rasher of rancid bacon at rare intervals, were all they had to eat. When

they received three days' rations they cooked and ate them, preferring to carry them inside and go hungry the two following days. They devoured rats, muskrats, and squirrels when they could get them. Two days' sleepless marching and fighting without food was, we are told, not uncommon. The soldiers slept as they tramped the dusty roads, and at each halt men fell down in a dead slumber."

NO AID FOR THE WOUNDED.

The greatest change for the worse in modern warfare is the impossibility of aiding the wounded: "But war would be comparatively humane if it were not for the fate of the wounded. In future battles, with the great range of the present small-bore rifle, it will be almost impossible to give satisfactory first aid on the battlefield. Those who creep for shelter from the sun to some copse or cornfield, who escape the anxious search of the ambulances, are the true victims of war. 'In the burning heat of mid-day, in the dark shadows of midnight, crouched on stones and thistles in the stench of corpses around and of their own putrefying wounds—a prey while still quivering for the feasting vultures,' without water, without food, without help of man to assuage their torments, what to them is the meaning of glory, and what in this life their reward? At Sadowa sixty wounded were found in a barn six days after the battle. They had lived God knows how. When found, the state of their wounds was such that not one of them could hope to survive. In the terrible battles in the Wilderness during the Civil War, the woods caught fire as the two sides fought, and the wounded were consumed by the flames. Dreadful perhaps; yet was this fate more dreadful than that of those who had crawled clear of the thickets and 'were eaten alive by the beetles o' nights?'"

Mr. Wilson concludes his article with the practical suggestion:

"No wonder that with knowledge such as this, at the Geneva Conference Mr. Twining proposed to end the miseries of the hopelessly wounded by giving the *coup de grâce*. The time may come when such a measure will be permitted; now it shocks our squeamish humanity, which cannot bear to read of such things, still less to think of them. The time, too, may come when we shall devise some means of saving life in a battle at sea, or arrive at some international agreement. When I recently urged this necessity, a critic objected that in battle ships have other things to do than to rescue the drowning. As if it were not possible to have Red Cross vessels with each squadron, whose one work should be life-saving."

"THE Irish Idylls," by Jane Barlow, form the subject of an interesting study by M. Aug. Glardon in the July number of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. In the same number M. Numa Droz has some reflections on Geneva and Zürich, the exhibitions of 1896 and 1883.

WHAT THE CUBAN INSURRECTION MEANS.

A Good Word for Spain.

MR. J. FITZMAURICE-KELLY is a Britisher who contributes to the *New Review* a very rabid article in defense of the Spaniards in Cuba. We quote the following passages, which will naturally excite some indignation on this side of the Atlantic:

"To talk of the present struggle as a fight for liberty is to burlesque words out of all meaning. It is no longer (if it ever was) in question whether or not the descendants of Spanish settlers shall be free; the question is whether Cuba shall, or shall not, be a civilized, European state, or a barbaric African Alsatia. The Spanish West Indian is as free as any British West Indian; he is directly represented at Madrid by senators and deputies of his own election, as no West Indian is represented in the Mother of Parliaments; he finds a ready hearing for his grievances, and an almost unhealthy anxiety to redress them. Cuba is indeed the spoiled child of Spain; and the most burning wrong adduced by her effervescent orators is that whites and blacks drink—for, as Mr. Ballou records, your Cuban is a rare ginslinger—at different bars. This, no doubt, is a grievance of a kind, but it is an insufficient pretext for civil war. For years Spain has spent herself in strenuous efforts to blot out the memories of old wrongs and to reconcile her colonists to her dominion. And, on the whole, she has governed Cuba with rare benignity and wisdom. The old press laws are abolished; the suffrage has been extended with an almost reckless generosity; every man stands equal in the eye of the law. Taxes and customs duties are still levied in what seems to us an arbitrary way; but the comparison, to be just, must be made not between England and Cuba, but between Cuba and Nicaragua. The bald truth is that the movement in Cuba, so far as it is genuine, is not based upon administrative grievances; its sole object is the extirpation of the white man. More than four-fifths of the Cuban rebels are negroes and half-breeds—quatroons, mulattoes, griffes—bent upon the establishment of a black republic."

The insurrection, he maintains, is fed by speculators in the United States. His paper comes practically to this, that the war of independence, in hope of which so many appeals are made to the sympathy of the people, is nothing more or less than a war of extermination waged by blacks against whites and helped on by rogues in New York and elsewhere for purposes of greed:

"The genuine filibuster's sentiment is candidly avowed in Mr. Bloomfield's 'Cuban Expedition.' 'The people in New York who fitted out this vessel care about as much for Cuban independence as I do, and that's to make as many dollars as they can out of it. As long as the Cubans can raise the spon-dulix they'll get plenty of people to fit out expeditions for them.' And the speaker goes on to brag

of his countrymen's acuteness in selling condemned provisions, arms, ammunition, shoddy uniforms, and blankets to the Cubans at the highest prices. America, in fact, does not send fighting-men to Cuba; she sends professional ruffians and atrocity-mongers to levy blackmail by processes unknown to any civilized state. The point arises—and Cánovas might well consider the advisability of making it in an Identical Note—whether Europe has not a common interest in protesting against this form of Yankee barbarism. One syllable from Europe—one word from France and England—and the vast majority of law-abiding citizens would put a speedy close to lawless proceedings carried out by speculators and winked at by demagogues who exploit the ignorance of the average voter. Until the contrary be proved, the bulk of Americans must be held innocent of any complicity in the crimes aforesaid. But it is high time that they knew what is committed in their name. Meanwhile, in Cuba, Spain is acting scrupulously within her rights; behind the Spanish Ministers stand the men of all parties, the unanimous representatives of a renowned, a heroic, and an unvanquished people."

JULES SIMON'S COLLEGE LIFE.

THE late Jules Simon's account of "A French College Sixty Years Ago," which appears in the August *Forum* has an autobiographic interest.

M. Simon begins with a brief description of his library—a collection of 25,000 books, to which, he says, he can go with eyes closed and find each volume. "While surveying my books in a certain fashion I review my life, for my library and I developed together."

M. Simon then reviews the condition of education in France just after the Revolution, and pictures the degeneracy of the colleges and other higher institutions.

"The universities, as well as the convents, were destroyed, and the majority of their members, who were priests, suffered a common fate with others of their profession. The colleges were without instructors and there would have been no pupils—for the colleges were closed by order and the faculties suppressed by law. Diplomas were forbidden to be given, since no one was to be privileged above another. The schools were closed or converted into hospitals or barracks. The larger number of the libraries were plundered or given over to the municipalities. The books, transferred from the university or the convent to the town hall, were packed in bales and lay there in the garret. I have myself seen similar bales—containing perchance rare treasures—which had lain undisturbed since the Reign of Terror."

On the reopening of the colleges, in the era of the Restoration, some of the old instructors returned to their chairs. M. Simon had among his instructors

in the college at Vaunes, which he entered in 1827, two professors who had taught there in 1793.

"In the first story of the college, full of mysterious objects which had been shut up there for twenty years, was a physical cabinet where no one ever entered and where everything was covered with the venerable dust of time. To utilize all these wonders the departmental council desired to procure the services of a professor. An annual stipend of four hundred francs was voted, and M. Jéhanno ran around to all the doctors in the town to propose this fine plan and to offer them this magnificent salary. It was refused by all. In conclusion, the invitation was extended to a justice, noted for the compliancy of his character and the feebleness of his mind. He alleged with hesitation that he knew nothing of physics, but M. Jéhanno replied triumphantly that he could learn it, and the board of education presented him with a copy of the 'Elements of Physics,' written in the preceding century by the Abbé Nollet. The fact that this amazing professor never had more than five or six auditors in a college where the other classes numbered from eighty to a hundred pupils, demonstrates the good sense of the people of Brittany.

A NARROW CURRICULUM.

"Such being the condition of my college at Vannes when I entered in 1827, it may practically be said that my student years fell toward the middle of the seventeenth century. The character of this college admitted of no change; a century and more ago the methods and curriculum of study were identical. Latin was well taught; beyond Latin we learned nothing at all. Our professors consented, indeed, to read us portions from obscure historians who were brought to my remembrance at Rome before the inscription: 'Here Romulus and Remus were suckled by the she-wolf.' Of the study of physics and our cabinet I have just given an accurate description. Our professor of philosophy, who was looked upon as a great man and who afterward became a deputy, had in his possession three massive volumes, the 'Philosophia Lugdunensis' ('Lyon's Philosophy'), the property of his predecessors and which he in turn was to transmit to his successors. In the first volume were treated the various forms of argumentation: syllogism, dilemma, etc. The second volume treated of metaphysics. I recall this definition of 'idea': 'I ask you, Monsieur, what is an idea?' And the pupil replies: 'An idea is the clear representation of an object really present before the mind.' The third section of 'Lyon's Philosophy' treated presumably of theology, but was in reality a development of the catechism. Our master knew that philosophy had become modified since the writing of his text books. He had heard of Condillac, who applied the theory of the 'idea' by the illustration of the cover of a pot filled with hot water; and of a young man, Cousin by name, who enjoyed a modicum of fame at Paris, and whose misfortune it was to talk much without saying any-

thing. Following this declaration he would read aloud some pages from the 'Philosophical Fragments' of which we did not understand a single word and which provoked us to Homeric bursts of laughter; then, inspired with renewed confidence, we would return to the ancient philosophy of our fathers."

HOW SIMON PAID HIS WAY.

By far the most interesting part of M. Simon's article is his account of the financial difficulties under which he labored in pursuing his college course, and the way in which he met them.

"At Vannes I passed from triumph to triumph. I was not allowed to compete for the prizes in philosophy; I was given a prize of honor superior to all the rest. But in the midst of these honors my life was one of difficulties. My family, completely ruined while I at the age of fourteen years was still at the high school at Lorient, and unable to defray the expenses of my education, had resolved to apprentice me to a watchmaker. Notwithstanding, an effort was made which enabled me to enter at Vannes, whither I went on foot, and where I passed through the third class as a boarder at reduced rates in a little seminary maintained by a Lazarite, Father Daudet. At the end of three months, when about to enter the second class, my father declared he could do no more, his last resource being exhausted. But in this excellent school there existed, among other relics of the past, a custom which saved me. The praiseworthy pupils of rhetoric in the second class gave lessons to their comrades in the fifth and sixth classes, at a most absurd charge, it is true, but which none the less helped them to earn their daily bread. I told my story to the principal, requesting him to find me pupils. I was not fifteen years old, but I was the glory of the college. The principal, desirous to see me remain, with the greatest difficulty procured me six pupils whom I united in a small class. I devoted to them an hour in the morning and again an hour in the evening, receiving in payment from each boy the sum of three francs a month. The manager of the Shallette accepted me as a boarder at eighteen francs a month. The college passed a resolution exempting me from payment for lessons; the board of education presented me with two hundred francs. In this way I was enabled to finish the two years' course of study.

"Carrying a small lantern in my hand, I might be seen every morning at six o'clock passing down the Rue de Chanoines, dressed in an ordinary calico jacket, under which I wore a woolen waistcoat. I may say that I was adopted by the entire town and that every one showed me the greatest kindness.

"I once saw one of my old pupils again. His name was Du Pontavice. He died, as have most of my pupils, before me. At the time we met he was superintendent of schools at Blois, and I was then minister. The prefect presented the superintendent who, in tears, asked me if I had forgotten him. I embraced him very heartily; and in that instant I

seemed to review my whole life which I thought then already finished, whereas in fact it had only begun."

TRIBUTES TO MRS. STOWE.

TWO good articles appear in the magazines on the late Harriet Beecher Stowe.

MR. WARNER'S ESTIMATE OF UNCLE TOM'S CABIN.

In the September *Atlantic Monthly* Mr. Charles Dudley Warner tells "The Story of Uncle Tom's Cabin," and gives his judgment on the much discussed literary value of the book. He attributes the success of Uncle Tom to an undoubted quality of genius. "The clear conception of character (not of ear-marks and peculiarities adopted as labels), and faithful adhesion to it in all vicissitudes, is one of the rarest and highest attributes of genius. All the chief characters in the book follow this line of absolutely consistent development, from Uncle Tom and Legree down to the most aggravating and contemptible of all, Marie St. Clare. The selfish and hysterical woman has never been so faithfully depicted by any other author.

"Distinguished as the novel is by its character-drawing and its pathos, I doubt if it would have captivated the world without its humor. This is of the old-fashioned kind, the large humor of Scott, and again of Cervantes, not verbal pleasantry, not the felicities of Lamb, but the humor of character in action, of situations elaborated with great freedom, and with what may be called hilarious conception. This quality is never wanting in the book, either for the reader's entertainment by the way, or to heighten the pathos of the narrative by contrast. The introduction of Topsy into the New Orleans household saves us in the dangerous approach to melodrama in the religious passages between Tom and St. Clare. Considering the opportunities of the subject, the book has very little melodrama; one is apt to hear low music on the entrance of little Eva, but we are convinced of the wholesome sanity of the sweet child. And it is to be remarked that some of the most exciting episodes, such as that of Eliza crossing the Ohio River on the floating ice (of which Mr. Ruskin did not approve), are based upon authentic occurrences. The want of unity in construction of which the critics complain is partially explained by the necessity of exhibiting the effect of slavery in its entirety. The parallel plots, one running to Louisiana and the other to Canada, are tied together by this consideration, and not by any real necessity to each other.

"There is no doubt that Mrs. Stowe was wholly possessed by her theme, rapt away like a prophet in a vision, and that, in her feeling at the time, it was written through her quite as much as by her. This idea grew upon her mind in the retrospective light of the tremendous stir the story made in the world, so that in her later years she came to regard herself

as a providential instrument, and frankly to declare that she did not write the book; 'God wrote it.' In her own account, when she reached the death of Uncle Tom, 'the whole vital force left her.' The inspiration there left her, and the end of the story, the weaving together of all the loose ends of the plot, in the joining together almost by miracle the long separated, and the discovery of the relationships, is the conscious invention of the novelist.

"It would be perhaps going beyond the province of the critic to remark upon what the author considered the central power of the story, and its power to move the world, the faith of Uncle Tom in the Bible. This appeal to the emotion of millions of readers cannot, however, be overlooked. Many regard the book as effective in regions remote from our perplexities by reason of this grace. When the work was translated into Siamese, the perusal of it by one of the ladies of the court induced her to liberate all her slaves, men, women and children, one hundred and thirty in all. 'Hidden Perfume,' for that was the English equivalent of her name, said she was wishful to be good like Harriet Beecher Stowe."

The Original of Uncle Tom.

In the September *Century* Mr. Richard Burton, a fellow townsman of Mrs. Stowe, has a short sketch of the novelist in which he explains the origin of the character of Uncle Tom. He says:

"It has been emphasized of late that in 1849 a certain colored man was brought a number of times to the Stowe house at Walnut Hill, Cincinnati, where he told his piteous story of escape, capture and cruel privation, and this man is pointed to as the prototype of the hero in the great novel. The 'original' Uncle Tom and the 'original' Topsy seem to some to be of supreme importance. Concerning this Uncle Tom of Walnut Hill, it is sufficient to say that while no doubt such a man appeared there, talked with the mistress, and moved her to pity for his misfortunes, his story is by no means that of the character immortalized by the writer. The simple truth is that this incident, like many another, acted as a suggestion to Mrs. Stowe, as she brooded over her work; it is a misconception of her methods of literary labor (and, indeed, of almost all such labor which proves potent) to imagine that her Uncle Tom was starkly taken from life. In the same way, discussion has arisen concerning Lewis Clark of Lexington, Ky., a venerable colored man, describing himself as the original study for George Harris in the tale. That Mrs. Stowe did make use of one Lewis Clark in limning the character of Harris may be ascertained by any one who reads her 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin,' a book written explicitly to show the sources whence she drew the data for her fiction. The only question is, then, whether the Clark spoken of in the 'Key' is the Kentucky Clark, with whom an alleged interview has recently been published. It is not only possible, but probable, that they are one and the same. A

brother of the original Lewis, a well-known character in Boston, employed in the office of the assistant treasurer, affirms stoutly that his kinsman is alive in Lexington. The whole matter is one of the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and would have no interest were it not that a letter from one of Mrs. Stowe's daughters, which has been printed, has been interpreted to deny the existence of such an impostor as Lewis Clark of Lexington. In fact, the letter did nothing of the kind; it only declared that a rumor about a certain Lewis Clark, printed in a periodical in 1891, was untrue, so far as it had any connection with Mrs. Stowe."

SOME BICYCLE TOPICS.

THE *Century*, too, in its September number, succumbs to the fascinations of bicycle discussion. Isaac B. Potter, a high official of the L. A. W., contributes an article on "The Bicycle Outlook." He suggests that cycling may revive the old stage-coach inns.

"A few days ago Mr. Edison was quoted in a daily newspaper as saying that within the next decade horseless carriages will be the rule. It may be, therefore, that, with the general improvement in road vehicles, and the general improvement of the public roads, without which no vehicle can become really efficient, the volume of road travel will be so increased as to bring to life the old inn of early days, but not, I think, the primitive and picturesque type that marked the stopping places of the old stage-coach which, in the years following the Revolution, used to make the distance between Boston and New York in six days. Nor will the rejuvenated inn bring back the old-time back-log festivals at which the Knickerbockers and Quakers so often came together when the fast coach known as the 'Flying Machine' whirled its passengers between New York and Philadelphia in the astonishing space of two full days. The railway has largely superseded common road travel, and our swift business methods will give the preference to railway travel until a swifter means shall take its place. But though the great majority will travel by rail, it must be borne in mind that the great and growing body of cyclists who travel by road is not greatly less in point of numbers than the entire population of the colonies when the old inns were in vogue; and the marked effort on the part of hotel proprietors to secure the patronage of the wheelmen shows how fully the value of this new element is being appreciated. About 7,000 official League hotels have been selected and granted official certificates by the League of American Wheelmen within the last five years. The proprietor of each of these hotels is required to sign a contract in which he undertakes to supply good food and clean, comfortable lodgings to all travelers, and to accord a certain percentage of discount or rebate from regular prices to

all members of the League of American Wheelmen on presentation of membership tickets for the current year. In exchange for this concession, the League publishes a list of all official hotels in the road books, tour books, and hotel books issued for the use of wheelmen; and in this manner the patronage of the hotels is encouraged; the wheelmen are brought together at common stopping places, and a direct benefit is secured to the organization."

BICYCLES AND THE ROADS.

One of the most valuable parts of Mr. Potter's discussion are the paragraphs relating to bicycle paths and the duty of insisting on good roads. He says: "A cycle-path is a protest against bad roads. We are not a nation of road-makers, and every year, for weeks at a time, our country traffic and travel are paralyzed by the presence of a simple mixture of dirt and water. Our country roads have cost us thousands of millions of dollars in labor and money, very little of which has been spent in a sensible way. Skillful road work is planned in the brain, wrought by skill, and finished by rule and reason. Every cyclist knows how unfit for human travel are the miserable streaks of rooted soil that run for hundreds of miles through our most populous counties, and all the horses and all the mules know it.

"The undoubted duty of every road officer to keep the public highway in a condition fit for the use of every vehicle having the lawful right to travel is not well understood. Cycling has come upon us apace, and the country road-maker, whose official tenure is often short-lived and capricious, and whose ambition is likely to be restrained by a short-sighted and parsimonious constituency, may scarcely be condemned if he fails at times to provide for the old conditions or to anticipate the new. The cyclist and the road commissioner are fast getting more closely in touch with each other, and the wheelman's influence at the state capital is certain, in the end, to secure the aid and supervision of the state in the making and maintaining of good country roads. Pending the time when this shall be accomplished, I believe that the making of cycling-paths along lines of popular road travel should be encouraged. In the state of New York the legislature has made special provision for the construction of cycle-paths in several of the interior counties; and the local subdivisions of the League of American Wheelmen will doubtless combine to push the work of cycle-path building, so as to lighten and brighten the journey of the cycling tourist between points where the common roads are in bad condition. We may look for a time in the near future when a cycling route from the Atlantic to the Pacific will be made and mapped, and when good roads and good cycle-paths will be so connected in a continuous chain between the two great oceans that a cross-continent journey awheel will be the popular ten weeks' tour of every cyclist whose time and purse will permit.

"As commonly made, cycle paths are not expen-

sive, and, the cost being generally contributed by the wheelmen themselves, no tax for this purpose is placed upon the public at large. Whether this should be so is a question that will stand some discussion; but thus far the cyclists have sought only to impose a small assessment upon actual users of the wheel when money has been needed to construct cycle-paths. Two years ago Mr. Charles T. Raymond of Lockport, N. Y., one of the pioneers in cycle-path construction, declared that 'what is used by all, and needed by all, should be paid for by all,' and this rule has commanded approval among wheelmen who have taken up the work of cycle-path making. Under favoring conditions, cycle-paths cost from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty dollars per mile. The surface width of the path should not be less than four feet, and need not be more than seven feet, except in rare cases. The paths are generally laid out on the grass-grown roadside, parallel with the wagonway. The grass is first cut close to the ground, after which the material (soft coal, cinders, or screened gravel) is put on in a thin layer, and so shaped and packed as to slope downward from the centre to each side. The grade in most cases follows closely the original surface of the ground. Material may generally be had at lower cost, and hauled at less expense, during the winter months; and this is an important point to bear in mind, since the item of haulage alone is likely to constitute more than half the expense of construction."

CLUB LIFE VERSUS HOME LIFE.

VARIOUS objections to the club as a disturbing factor in our social organization are urged by G. S. Crawford in the August *Arena*. The pith of these objections is contained in the following paragraphs which we quote from Mr. Crawford's article:

"One of the chief objections to the club is the separation of the sexes which it brings about. It must, however, be admitted that normally constituted women would be quite as much bored as men by constant intercourse with the opposite sex; the renewal of contact being one of the principal sources of the charm and refreshment which men and women get from each other's society. On the other hand, a mother who has the welfare of her family at heart naturally wishes for her sons and daughters the advantages of agreeable and improving associates. She can secure at her fireside the presence of superior women. It is, however, more fitting that the head of the house should introduce its male visitors; but if, instead of bringing his companions to his home, he seeks their society at the club, the family circle loses the beneficial effects of contact with men whose opportunities for knowing life it may be presumed are both varied and instructive. Without this class of influence the home cannot be a true school of manners or accomplishments."

THE CLUB PROMOTES CELIBACY.

"The morally healthy man uses his club with the same degree of moderation that he does the other accessories to the pleasures and comforts of life; but there are a large number of men who cannot, strictly speaking, be called healthy or unhealthy, but may be made the one or the other by the influences to which they are subjected. When the club is regarded as is sometimes the case, not only as a substitute, but even as a compensation for the absence of a home, it cannot be otherwise than detrimental to the best interests of society. Its influence upon unmarried men especially would seem to be unwholesome, if for no other reason than because it accustoms them to a degree of luxury and an exaggerated standard of living difficult to attain, even if it were desirable, in the ordinary household. It furthermore encourages a class of celibates who in the absence of family ties lose the strongest incentives to unselfish and noble exertion."

"The question before society is as simple as it is important. Our civilization rests upon the education of the home; the good gained from the household cannot be won elsewhere. Whatever advantages the club may afford for political training, it cannot compensate for the evil it does in debilitating the life of the fireside. It is the duty of all who recognize these obligations to struggle, as the keepers of the best winnings of society, for the elevation of household life. This end can best be reached by a clear understanding of the dangers that attend the removal of the pleasant offices of the home to places where the family as a whole is not admitted. All the material gains of our time will be as nothing if the household is not maintained as the chief seat of social interest and pleasure."

THE MISSION OF HULL HOUSE.

THE work of Hull House, the remarkably successful "social settlement" in Chicago, is described by Annie L. Muzzey in the *August Arena*.

"The names of Jane Addams and Hull House have become familiar not only to the residents of Chicago, but to all readers interested in sociological studies and experiments. But there is with the general public a misapprehension of motives and uses which does injustice to the broad spirit and purpose of the founders and sustainers of this noble social settlement. It is crudely supposed that a woman, or a company of women, going voluntarily into an ignorant, impoverished, and alien community, must be actuated solely by motives of charity and self-sacrifice, or by a pious longing to give and be given for righteousness' sake, taking credit and great satisfaction for their praiseworthy effort to save the lost and convert the sinning.

"But it is especially desired by Miss Addams that Hull House shall not be regarded as a philanthropy in the sense of conferring charitable benefits from the high altitude of a superior order of beings whose

benevolence is restricted to religious exhortation and eleemosynary services.

"The mission of Hull House is simply one of pure neighborliness. It assumes at the outset that there is to be an exchange of kindly offices and mutual benefits. It sits down in the midst of its humble neighborhood with the idea of sharing the influence of its larger opportunities with those whose lives are defrauded of the light and beauty that belong equally to all. It has no cumbrous theories to which it is bound to conform, but is ruled only by a loving intelligence that constantly seeks the best good of the community of which it has, by free choice, become an important and a responsible part."

"From first to last there has been no partial, one-sided effort in special lines of reform, but an earnest, thoughtful consideration from many standpoints of the widest assistance that could be given the neighborhood as a whole. And the whole, in the view of these philosophical workers, includes the settlement itself; for whatever is accomplished in the elevation of the people with whom they have freely cast their lot, is believed to rebound, to revitalize and enlarge the mental and spiritual perceptions and activities of all who feel themselves a part of the life of the race.

"The men and women who have been drawn to the gratuitous work of the social settlement by the pure force of its human claims are of the generously cultured class who are conscious of a need to expend their energies in wider and more satisfactory uses than are found in the polite and sometimes hypocritical amenities of a society that exists for itself alone. So far, by the mere bent of their desires, they are adapted to the molding influences of a co-operative work in which each must be willing to renounce personal pet theories and assimilate so far as possible with the larger plan that includes and directs all activities to the best results.

"Hull House is no place for reformers with one idea, or for riders and hobbies of any sort whatever. It is in itself a school of large and varied culture, a school that is not ready to announce its full and absolute solution of the social problems with which it deals, but which, with earnestness and humility, is feeling out its way to the truest methods, by united endeavor, of bringing the two extremes of city social life into harmonious and helpful relationships that shall in different ways equally benefit both.

"In this altruistic scheme there are ample and manifold opportunities for each to follow the line of his or her aptitudes in the diversity of uses developed by the work in its continuous progress. One of the remarkable things about the settlement is the fervor and swiftness with which response has been made to its needs, the army of resident and non-resident workers showing how strongly the spirit of Christ is seeking, on the borders of the twentieth century, to embody itself in broader and diviner expressions of love and human fellowship."

THE WEST AND THE EAST.

A PROTEST against Mr. Godkin's strictures on the West (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for June), is uttered by Mr. Charles S. Gleed, of Kansas, in the August *Forum*. It will be remembered that a considerable part of Mr. Godkin's article in the May *Forum* was devoted to the supposed hostile attitude of the West toward the East. Mr. Gleed now declares that Mr. Godkin is not personally familiar in any broad sense with the people living west of the Alleghanies, and therefore cannot fairly judge of their "attitude."

"He looks at these people through the twisted lens of his own dislike—not to say hatred—of sundry men, measures, parties, and publications which he assumes are representative of the whole West. This assumption is brutal and unintelligent. On the other hand, my own convictions concerning the West are based on a lifetime of close contact with all the larger communities between the Alleghanies and the Pacific, except those of the southern States east of the Mississippi River. I have scrutinized these communities from the points of observation of the student, the editor, the lawyer, the business man, and the general observer. I have taken careful note of the temper, convictions, and general characteristics of the western people. and I assert with positive conviction that there is no such 'attitude' of the West toward the East as that described by Mr. Godkin.

"On the contrary, the attitude of the West toward the East is of the most friendly character. It is natural that this should be so; it is impossible that it should be otherwise. The western people came from the East, or their ancestors did; and almost without exception they are bound to the East by the closest ties of consanguinity. They have taken pains to go East and to study the East. To them the East is 'back,' while to the eastern people the West is 'out.' They are proud of the great interests and institutions of the East. They feel that the East stands between them and Europe, and that thereby our country presents a majestic front to the Old World. They have been principally educated in the East; and their preachers, teachers, physicians, and intellectual leaders generally are of eastern training. Their systems of law and government are from the East. All the literature they read above the local newspaper is from the East; their educational methods are adopted from eastern standards. Every western banker or financier watches the chiefs of his profession in the East as pupils watch their teachers. Western merchants go East for their goods. Western people seeking recreation go East for their rest. There is no possible room, in short, for any such general feeling of hostility as Mr. Godkin describes."

THE WEST NOT "ISOLATED."

"Ignorance about foreigners and foreign relations cannot successfully be charged against the West,

especially in view of the history of the western people. Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, New Orleans, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, Minneapolis; Denver, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland—are all cities with very great foreign populations. All the States in which these and similar cities are located have large percentages of foreign-born citizens. The gold and silver producing States have from 25 to 50 per cent. of foreign-born voters. Colorado has always been peculiarly in the hands of Englishmen. Most of the mines in all these States are owned in Europe. The markets chiefly relied on by all the great western producers are European markets. In the West, the producers of cotton, corn, wheat, cattle, and the manufactured products growing out of these primary products, such as dressed meats, flour, etc., all have their eyes fixed intently on the European markets. The eastern manufacturer is looking to the West, but the western producer is looking to the Far East. There, and there only, does he find the chief market for his own surplus."

PROUD OF HER RECORD.

"The West is ready to stand by the record it has made, and though it may be in a manner and to some degree ignorant, provincial, isolated, envious, and otherwise bad, it yet remembers that it has given to this country its Lincoln, its Grant, its Shermans, and thousands of others whose services to the country and to humanity have been beyond measure. It also remembers that it has borne the heat and the burden of the day, in peace and in war, in business and in politics—having always had a preponderance of power since the time when the center of population moved down the western slope of the Alleghanies into the great valley. The record is a glorious one, and I am glad to feel certain that eastern people generally know it and appreciate it—a few of their editors to the contrary notwithstanding."

The Problem of the West.

In the September *Atlantic*, Frederick J. Turner has an article entitled "The Problem of the West," which attempts to explain the underlying causes of the social and political unrest culminating in the Chicago convention of 1896. He considers the phenomenon a not illogical result of the check to expansion which has necessarily come with the occupation of the Pacific lands and the loss of frontier opportunities. Mr. Turner says:

"This, then, is the real situation: A people composed of heterogeneous materials, with diverse and conflicting ideals and social interests, having passed from the task of filling up the vacant places of the continent, is now thrown back upon itself, and is seeking an equilibrium. The diverse elements are being fused into national unity. The forces of reorganization are turbulent and the nation seems like a witches' kettle:

'Double, double, toil and trouble,
Fire burn and cauldron bubble.'

"But the far West has its centres of industrial life and culture not unlike those of the East. It has state universities, rivaling in conservative and scientific economic instruction those of any other part of the Union, and its citizens more often visit the East, than do eastern men the West. As time goes on, its industrial development will bring it more into harmony with the East."

SOME AMERICAN MILLIONAIRES: And How They Got Their Millions.

AN American who writes from intimate personal knowledge, but prefers to remain anonymous, tells in *Cornhill* with much sympathy the story of several of our millionaires. He claims that even if the 4,000 millionaires own between them \$40,000,000,000 out of the \$76,000,000,000 which form the total national wealth, still the balance leaves every citizen \$500 per head as against \$330 per head forty-five years ago. He argues that millionaires have grown by making other classes not poorer but richer.

THE FIRST VANDERBILT.

The wealth of the Vanderbilts is now said to total at least \$400,000,000:

"Commodore Vanderbilt, who made the first Vanderbilt millions, was born just a century ago. His capital was the traditional bare feet, empty pocket, and belief in his luck—the foundation of so many American fortunes. Hard work, from six years of age to sixteen, furnished him with a second and more tangible capital—namely, \$100 in cash. This money he invested in a small boat; and with that boat he opened up a business of his own—the transportation of vegetables to New York. At twenty years of age he married, and man and wife both turned money makers. He ran his boat. She kept a hotel. Three years later he was worth \$10,000. After that his money came rapidly—so rapidly that when the civil war broke out, the boy, who had started with one boat, value \$100, was able to present to the nation one of his boats, value \$800,000, and yet feel easy about his finances and his fleet. At seventy years of age he was credited with a fortune of \$70,000,000."

THE FIRST ASTOR.

"The Astor fortune owes its existence to the brains of one man and the natural growth of a great nation, John Jacob Astor being the only man in four generations who was a real money-maker. The money he made, as he made it, was invested in New York City property; the amount of such property is limited, as the city stands upon an island. Consequently the growth of New York City, which was due to the growth of the Republic, made this small fortune of the eighteenth century the largest American fortune of the nineteenth century. The first and last Astor worthy of study as a master of mil-

lions was therefore John Jacob Astor, who, tiring of his work as helper in his father's butcher's shop in Waldorf, went, about one hundred and ten years ago, to try his luck in the new world. On the ship he really, in one sense, made his whole fortune. He met an old fur-trader who posted him in the tricks of Indian fur-trading. This trade he took up and made money at. Then he married Sarah Todd, a shrewd, energetic young woman. Sarah and John Jacob dropped into the homely habit of passing all their evenings in their shop sorting pelts. . . . In fifteen years John Jacob and Sarah his wife had accumulated \$250,000. . . . A lucky speculation in United States bonds, then very low in price, doubled John Jacob's fortune; and this wealth all went into real estate, where it has since remained."

FOUR RAILWAY MAGNATES.

Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, Mark Hopkins, and Collis P. Huntington went to California in the gold fever of 1849. When the trans-continental railway was mooted these four "saw millions in it," and contracted to make the Union Pacific. "The four men, penniless in 1850, are to-day credited with combined fortune of \$200,000,000."

"One of them, Leland Stanford, had designed to found a family; but ten years ago his only son died, and he then decided to establish a university in memory of that son. And he did it in princely fashion, for while yet 'in the flesh' he 'deeded' to trustees three farms containing 86,000 acres, and, owing to their splendid vineyards, worth \$6,000,000. To this he added \$14,000,000 worth of securities, and at his death left the university a legacy of \$2,500,000—a total gift by one man, to one institution of learning, of \$22,500,000, which is said to be a 'world's record.' His wife has announced her intention to leave her fortune, some \$10,000,000, to the university."

ROCKEFELLER AND CO.

"The most remarkable instance of money-making shown in the history of American millions" is that furnished by the Standard Oil Trust:

"Thirty years ago five young men, most of them living in the small city of Cleveland (state of Ohio), and all comparatively poor (probably the whole party could not boast of £10,000), saw monetary possibilities in petroleum. In the emphatic language of the old river pilot, 'They went for it thar and then,' and they got it. To-day the same party of five men are worth \$600,000,000. . . . John D. Rockefeller, the brain and 'nerve' of this great 'trust,' is a ruddy-faced man with eye so mild and manner so genial that it is very hard to call him a 'grasping monopolist.' His 'hobby' now is education, and he rides this hobby in robust, manly fashion. He has taken the University of Chicago under his wing, and already the sum of \$7,000,000 has passed from his pockets to the treasury of the new seat of learning in the second city of the Republic."

After a word of pity for Jay Gould the writer tells of J. S. Morgan, who—"born in Massachusetts, a farmer boy first, then clerk in a dry goods shop, then clerk in a bank, was able, out of his savings, at the age of thirty-eight, to establish in Boston a commercial house which soon took the first place in the Republic."

At forty three years of age he became partner and successor of George Peabody in London, and died in 1890 worth \$10,000,000.

THE MAKER OF WINANS' FORTUNE.

The source of the millions of Mr. Winans of Scottish deer forest fame is next told :

"They were practically the sole product of one man, Ross Winans, who died in Baltimore twenty years ago. He was a farmer lad, and made his first money out of a new plough, which he invented. Then he turned his inventive genius to railways, and was the first to perfect the manufacture of camel-back railway engines, and to suggest the idea of eight-wheel railway car trucks. Russia wanted railway communication between Moscow and St. Petersburg. Winans was sent for by the Emperor, given his own terms, and so he made millions which his children have been content to let alone, while they took life by easy stages. This fortune is now taken as showing a total of \$35,000,000."

Charles T. Yerkes, the street railway king, penniless twenty years ago, is now worth \$15,000,000.

ANOTHER SERMON TO THE "SPLENDID PAUPERS."

THE *Quarterly Review* publishes an excellent article entitled "The Citizenship of the British Nobility," the moral of which is exactly that which was set forth at some length in the pages of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS when the English aristocracy was treated as part of "The Wasted Wealth of King Demos." The reviewer publishes a letter from the Duke of Rutland, in which he describes the part played by the "Young England Movement" in improving the relations between class and class, and in ameliorating the condition of the poor. The reviewer marvels that Mr. Lecky should have failed to derive any substantial encouragement in his anticipations for England from the manner in which the recently enfranchised British voters have used their power. The total failure of Mr. Gladstone's attack on the House of Lords fills him with confidence in the future. The Radical programme, he thinks, was by no means absurd. It was indeed dangerously effective:

"It was so broad and vigorous in its general conception that it would have had a very good prospect of success, if only one condition had been present. That condition was a widely-spread disposition among the working classes to believe that the nobility were animated by a spirit of aristocratic dislike

to democratic power, and by a patrician indifference to the welfare of the masses."

"IF."

That condition, however, did not exist, so Radical strategy failed, and recent history since the last Reform bill affords abundant ground for the belief that if the class possessing leisure will play their part, the electorate will welcome and generally follow their lead ; but there is an "if" in this, and although our reviewer is very polite, he cannot disguise the fact that many of the peers come very far short of living up to their privileges. The danger has not passed away with the huge majority of nearly one hundred and fifty:

"How could it be so, when over against the conspicuous splendor and elaborate luxury of life in the town and country palaces of the high nobility, maintained somehow despite agricultural depression and Harcourtian budgets, is to be set the world of suffering and of struggle conveyed by Mr. Charles Booth's careful estimate that 30 per cent. of the population of London are under the 'poverty-line'?"

"LAMENTABLY DEFICIENT" ARISTOCRATS.

Here, for instance, are some plain truths faithfully spoken which it is to be hoped that our peers and peeresses will take to heart :

"But it must be admitted that, in not a few cases, men of rank, who have had all the advantages of those institutions, are lamentably deficient in the mental equipment required for an adequate comprehension of national questions, whether domestic or external. They know little more of those problems than may be picked up from the newspapers, and are unable to reproduce what they do know, or such reflections on it as they may have put together, in a style appreciably superior to the average of the speeches in a second-class debating society in a manufacturing town. This is so poor a result of generations of inherited political power that, apart from all considerations of its effect on the present and future position of their class, the English aristocracy ought to regard it as a reproach to be cleared away as completely and as early as may be.

"The people have a right to expect that, in return for the enjoyment of their inherited estates and dignities, this class should make a fine art of the conduct of public affairs, from the Parish Council to the House of Lords."

THE OPPORTUNITY OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The reviewer rejoices to note that the more active and influential county magistrates have been chosen to be councilors, but he says lugubriously:

"It rests with the younger generation of the nobility and country gentry to decide whether the administration of rural and semi-rural affairs under a popular system of local government shall be worthy of the excellent beginning it has made, and

shall present a record of steadily advancing enlightenment, or shall decline upon poor and unworthy standards.

"Nor is it only in the counties that an important mission demands the loyal acceptance of the English aristocracy. There are many welcome signs of the spread of higher standards, æsthetic and sanitary, of municipal life in the great towns; and with this, largely causing it, partly caused by it, an increasing readiness on the part of men of education and good breeding to take an active interest in the conduct of local affairs. The improvement may be powerfully aided by the co-operation of the neighboring territorial aristocracy. But it is not by any means certain that the younger generation of the landed aristocracy, titled or untitled, recognize the duty incumbent upon them to take up the succession of such work. It is of great importance that they should do so. The work is eminently worthy of the intellectual, moral, and even æsthetic sympathies of all patriotic citizens."

But it is not enough that dukes and earls should serve as mayors, as ornamental appendages of British municipal institutions:

"All this is well; but if the aristocracy are to retain that confidence in their fitness for parliamentary and municipal responsibilities which the masses appear ready to repose in them, it can only be by resolute application of their energies to the duties which they undertake. A merely ornamental discharge of parliamentary or municipal functions, coupled from time to time with expressions of sympathetic interest in the welfare of the masses, will not serve and ought not to serve."

SOCIALIZE THE DUCAL CASTLE.

Nor will this impatient reviewer be contented even if the peer grudges its mayoral functions, like the galley slave at his oar. He must not only preside over his councilors in the town, he must invite them and their wives to his country house. No doubt, he hastens to remark, it is much easier for a great lady to fill her house from year to year with people who need little or no looking after, than to make judicious selections of guests representing different social atmospheres and modes of life, but if they took the trouble they would find the game well worth the candle:

"The fruit of such work, if well done, would be twofold. It would ensure a lasting and progressive enrichment of the interest of life to all concerned. The conversation of the drawing room and of the smoking room, both in the town mansion and the country house, would become both more extended in its range and more varied in its point of view. This is not only to say that social intercourse would become brighter, more attractive, and more refreshing, with far less of sameness and the resulting ennui than at present. The great country mansions in the northern counties, at which it would be thought a natural thing to find in a house-party leading merchants and manufacturers or even pro-

fessional men from any of the towns within easy reach, are quite exceptional. There is no sufficient reason why this should be so. There are to be found in the towns many ladies and gentlemen with a breadth of culture and an ease and refinement of manner amply qualifying them to associate on terms of equal mutual pleasure and advantage with the families and friends of the neighboring nobility. It is pure loss all around that such association is still quite rare, and there is an odd perversity about the habits which make it so."

THE OBJECT LESSON IN OUTDOOR RELIEF.

The Melancholy Experience of St. Olave's Guardians.

IN the article on "Democratic Finance" which appears in the July number of the *Quarterly Review*, a writer tells the curious story of the result of an experiment made by the Poor Law Union of St. Olave's in dispensing outdoor relief.

A LABOR-YARD AT TRADES-UNION WAGES.

"The Metropolitan Poor Law Union of St. Olave's enjoys the privilege of possessing a democratic board of guardians. The task of administering the Poor law is admittedly a difficult one, but it is one on which a vast amount of experience has been accumulated and put on record. But, like the emperor who was *super grammaticam*, the St. Olave's board was a law unto itself. They resolved to dispense with those salutary tests of destitution which experience has shown to be necessary, and which in the case of the able-bodied are actually prescribed by law and by the orders of the Local Government Board. During the winter of 1894-95, this board opened a labor-yard for the relief of the able-bodied, but, neglecting the advice that applicants are to receive not wages but relief proportioned to their necessities, the guardians determined to pay their relief on the scale of trades-union wages.

THE RESULT: FOUR SHILLING'S WORTH OF WORK FOR £7.

"The labor-yard remained open from January 7 to March 28. During that period 61,617 days of employment were given at a cost of £10,782, exclusive of cost of management. The total expenditure was about £18,000. The stone broken cost the guardians £7 per ton as compared with 4s., which is said to be the cost of the same work in the open market. The relief was not effectual for the purpose intended. Admittedly the yard was monopolized by the criminal and semi-criminal classes, and the conditions of the relief were such that no respectable workman could accept them. A large proportion of the men did no work at all, so lax was the supervision that many absented themselves from the yard till the hour of payment arrived, some of the payment was given in kind, and the tickets and groceries so distributed were in many cases exchanged

for drink. This method of procedure offered no solution of the difficulty.

LOOK ON THIS PICTURE!

"By the end of March, when the guardians decided to close the yard, they had succeeded in collecting, in normal weather, between 800 and 1,000 men whose daily resort was the labor-yard. Obviously this congestion of unemployed labor left the difficulty in an aggravated condition, when this large number of men were suddenly deprived of their employment.

"The maladministration of the St. Olave's board has been so flagrant that the Local Government Board has disallowed a portion of the subvention, which had otherwise been due to it from the Common Poor Fund. Unfortunately, the loss falls upon the ratepayers of St. Olave's, and not on the guardians."

AND ON THIS AT WHITECHAPEL.

"The above incident is only one item in a long course of mismanagement which, considering the widespread suffering and demoralization caused thereby to the poorest and most helpless class of the community, may fairly be described as criminal. The possibility of reducing pauperism by a careful administration is generally admitted. From 1870-71 to 1880-81 there was a general fall in pauperism throughout the metropolis, in which movement St. Olave's participated. The pauperism of Whitechapel and St. Olave's fell from 61.6 and 44.7 per 1,000 of population in 1870-71 to 25.1 and 27.5 in 1880-81. In 1884 a new policy was introduced into St. Olave's, and in 1892-93 the rate per 1,000 had risen again to 40.3, while in Whitechapel the decline continued, reducing the rate per 1,000 to 21.5.

"The key to this unfortunate result is afforded by the following figures:

	—Expenditure on outdoor relief.—			
	1871.	1881.	1891.	1895.
Whitechapel.....	£1,118	£1,152	£840	£620
St. Olave's.....	11,546	6,349	11,214	23,643

"The policy of the Whitechapel Union, as is well known, is influenced by a permanent official who has thoroughly mastered the scientific aspects of Poor law administration. Yielding to his advice, the board has pursued a continuous policy of reducing outdoor relief for the last twenty-five years. About 1884 the St. Olave's board seems to have fallen into the hands of some ignorant or malevolent persons who, by adopting a contrary policy, have multiplied pauperism and raised the burdens of the ratepayers to an alarming extent. Unfortunately its procedure is typical of many other unions, and of the democratic science by which they are governed."

The *Quiver* is chiefly noticeable for Hector Maclean's sketch of the human Oddments and Wastrels of London, and the commencement of a new serial story by Helen Boulnois, "Jervis Carew's Ward."

PRACTICAL SOCIALISM IN SWITZERLAND.

As Described By an American Observer.

PROF. JESSE MACY contributes to the *American Journal of Sociology* for July a very interesting sketch of "The Swiss and Their Politics." Professor Macy was delighted to find the Swiss so much in advance of the American in all that relates to the control of plutocracy by the people. Intelligent Swiss with whom he talked were amazed at the extent to which the country of George Washington was dominated by the power of the purse. Yet there is no socialism in Switzerland excepting that of the practical kind, some illustrations of which Professor Macy describes in the following passage:

AN OBJECT LESSON FOR AMERICANS.

"I have been surprised at the cool and matter-of-fact way in which the Swiss, through their governmental agencies, assume control of industrial operations which Americans regard as belonging to private enterprise. The Swiss were among the first to adopt the government telegraph. This suited them so well that when the telephone had fully demonstrated its usefulness, without any special debate or fuss about the matter, they made the telephone an integral part of the postal-telegraphic system. For about \$9 one has the use of a telephone for a year, with connections in all parts of the city and country. They have a parcels post which corresponds to our express business. It cost me 5 cents to send by mail my manuscript on the English Government from one end of Switzerland to the other. For a like service in the United States mail I think I have paid 75 cents. It is only recently that measures have been adopted looking to the government ownership of all the railways of Switzerland, and I have been completely dumbfounded at the apparent lack of interest in the subject. The government has recently taken charge of the manufacture and sale of matches. I think the government monopoly of the sale of alcoholic drinks has excited more debate. But the point of interest has been the suppression of drunkenness rather than the industrial effects. There is now a measure before the national legislature for establishing a national bank, and this is causing some newspaper discussion. All these are enterprises of the national government.

"In the cantons and in the cities there are movements of a similar character. Various cantons and communes have in recent years assumed the burden of burying the dead.

MUNICIPALIZED ELECTRICITY.

"While I was in Geneva the city gained possession of the lighting plant of an outlying district which had previously been in the hands of a company. A few years ago the city began to utilize the power of the Rhone river, which comes out of the lake in a mighty torrent. They needed the water of the lake in their streets and houses, and they made the river pump the water. The watch in-

dustry was languishing on account of competition with the machine-made watch in America and elsewhere. The city corporation developed a system for distributing power to the local manufacturers through the pressure of water pumped from the Rhone by the Rhone. This gave a great stimulus to many industries, and more and more power was demanded. When experience had demonstrated the economy of electricity as an agency for lighting and for the distribution of power the city gained possession of all electrical appliances and attached them to their mill on the Rhone. By all these demands the power of the river as developed within the city limits was exhausted, and the demand for power to be used in manufacture was rapidly increasing. To meet the new demand the city government secured a site of four miles down the river, where they have constructed a dam of stone which appears as permanent as Niagara Falls, and where they get an immense head of water. This new mill is now nearing completion. From it power will be distributed by electricity and sold to small manufacturers in the city and suburbs. On my return to the city from my visit to the new mill I rode with a manufacturer from Zurich. He said that their company bought power from a private company, and that they paid \$3 for power which costs the Genevese manufacturer only \$2.

"The surprising thing about the matter is the cool and matter-of-fact way in which the government enters upon these various industrial undertakings. A few days before I left Geneva the city government voted to build at once twelve tenement houses to be owned and operated by the city. It was understood that this was only the beginning of an enterprise which admitted of infinite expansion.

"There is probably no part of Europe where the socialists are having so hard a time as in Switzerland."

SOCIAL REFORMS IN NEW ZEALAND.

MR. REEVES contributes to the *National Review* for August a most interesting and well-informed article, entitled "Five Years' Reform in New Zealand." It was written before he was Agent-General, but it is thoroughly up to date. He describes the legislation of the most progressive colony in the Empire under five heads: The first, finance; the second, land; the third, constitutional reform; the fourth, labor; the fifth, law reform. It is too long to summarize the whole of what he has to tell us, but here are some of the more important points:

DIRECT TAXATION.

"Since 1891 progression or graduation has been in New Zealand a cardinal principle of direct taxation. Income earners pay nothing up to £300 a year. Between £300 and £1,300, the tax is 6d. all around; over £1,300 it rises to a shilling. Joint stock companies pay a shilling on all income. Land pays no

income tax, and landowners who have less than £500 worth of bare land value pay no land tax. This complete exemption of the very small landowners forms an almost insuperable barrier to the progress of the single taxers. On all land over £500 value 1d. in the £ is paid. The mortgaged farmer deducts the amount of his mortgage from the value of his farm, and pays only on the remainder. The mortgagee pays 1d. in the £ on the mortgage, which for this purpose is treated as land. An additional graduated tax begins on holdings worth £5,000. At that stage it is an eighth of a penny. By progressive steps it rises until, on estates assessed at £210,000, it is 2d. Thus under the graduated and simple land tax together, the holders of the largest areas pay 3d. in the £, whilst the peasant farmers whose acres are worth less than £500 pay nothing. The graduated tax brings in about £80,000 a year; the 1d. land tax about £200,000; the income tax about £70,000. The assessment and collection cause no difficulty. South Australia had a land tax before New Zealand; New South Wales has imposed one since. Both differ from ours.

THE RELIEF OF MORTGAGEES.

"Various schemes for using the credit of the state to reduce current rates of interest have been before the public in more than one colony. The scheme of the New Zealand government has been fortunate enough to pass into law, and is contained in the Advances to Settlers act, 1894. Under it a state board may lend government money on leasehold and freehold security, but not on urban or suburban land, unless occupied for farming or market-gardening. The loan may amount to three-fifths of the value of the security when freehold and one-half when leasehold. The rate of interest charged is 5 per cent., but the borrower pays at the rate of 6 per cent. in half-yearly installments, the extra 1 per cent. being by way of gradual repayment of the principal. Mortgagees must in this way repay the principal in seventy-three half-yearly installments, provided they care to remain indebted so long."

LAND TENURE.

The question of land tenure has occupied the attention of the colonial Parliament for some time.

"In 1891 an attempt was made to pass an act greatly favoring perpetual leasing, with periodical revisions of rent. It was rejected in the Legislative Council. Next year the bill was sent up without the periodical revisions, and the Council accepted it."

The agitation for a periodical revision of rent continues:

"For the present the perpetual lease on an unalterable rent is highly popular with selectors, and most of the Crown lands disposed of are taken up under this tenure."

Another branch of the land question was that by which the legislature acquired compulsory powers for purchasing private estates:

"The Liberals have after four years' conflict with the Upper House, managed to pass a Lands for Settlement bill, taking power to repurchase, for full and fair value, portions of private estates. Where this cannot be done by mutual arrangement, the right to take the land by compulsion is given, subject to certain safeguards."

ELECTORAL REFORMS.

Electoral reforms of very drastic measure have been carried. Liberal members have been introduced into the second chamber, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Reeves inclines to nominate rather than to an electorate second chamber. He says:

"Indeed, Australian Democrats have constantly expressed to me their opinion, the outcome of hard experience, that if a second Chamber is wanted at all, it is better to have it nominated than elective."

The franchise of the Lower House has also been materially modified:

"The one-man-one-vote was carried to its complete issue by the clause providing for 'one man one registration'; that is to say, that no voter could register on more than one roll. Consequently, property owners were not only cut down to one vote in one district at a general election, but were prevented from voting in another district at a by-election. The right to vote by letter was extended from seamen to shearers and commercial travelers. But of course by many degrees the greatest extension of the franchise was the inclusion of women in the ranks of voters."

WOMEN SUFFRAGE.

The remarkable thing about the franchisement of women which has been carried out in New Zealand was that the question was never submitted to the constituency as a direct issue. A majority of members were found to be in favor of it, and the bill was passed. The results, Mr. Reeves says, have been extremely satisfactory:

"The rush of the women on to the electoral rolls; the interest taken by them in the election contests; the peaceable and orderly character of these contests; and the unprecedented Liberal majority returned by the polls, are all matters of New Zealand history. So is the fact that most of the women voters showed no disposition to follow the clergy in assailing the national system of free, secular, and compulsory education. That they clearly pronounced in very many cases for temperance reform is true. That they were by no means unanimous in favor of total prohibition is true also. On the whole, the most marked feature of their first use of the franchise was their tendency to agree with, rather than diverge from, their male *entourage*."

WHAT THE WOMEN VOTERS HAVE ACCOMPLISHED.

"There are some who connect the appearance of women in the political arena with the recent passing of an Infants' Life Protection act, the raising of the age of consent to 15, the appointment of female

inspectors to lunatic asylums, factories, and other institutions, with improvements in the laws dealing with adoption of children and industrial schools, and with a severe law against the keepers of houses of ill-fame. Last, but by no means least, the influence of woman is believed to be evident in highly important measures dealing with the liquor laws and with a prohibitionist movement which is a very prominent feature of New Zealand public life.

LABOR AND LAW.

"The labor laws of New Zealand have been published in a cheap and handy volume for general information. Therein are comprised twenty acts of Parliament, directly regulating the relations of employers and employed. Of these acts, no less than fifteen have been passed during the four years dealt with in this article."

One of the last things which the New Zealand legislature has done has been to codify its law, a task which the mother country has not yet ventured to attempt. Altogether Mr. Reeves explains how it is that New Zealand has come to be regarded as the Mecca of social reformers throughout the English speaking world.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE IN EGYPT.

THE *Edinburgh Review* publishes an article on Egypt, which has been very much praised up in some of the papers; but it does not contain much that is new. The writer says quite frankly that even if it were possible, it would not be right to devote the whole or the bulk of the reserve fund of the Egyptian treasury to the reconquest of the Sudan. The money should be spent on making the great reservoir. The cost, however, of the Sudan expedition ought to be borne by the British taxpayer.

AS TO THE SOUDAN EXPEDITION.

Whatever the expense of the Sudan expedition, it is Great Britain which will have to defray the lion's share of its cost.

"It comes to this, then, that the success and the justification of the present forward movement in the Sudan depends upon the readiness of the Government and the country to face resolutely the fresh responsibility which it involves. The advance on Dongola was a bold move. Boldly persisted in, it will result in advantage alike to this country, to Egypt, and to the general interests of civilization. But to insure such a result three things are necessary: That, however gradually we may advance, we should not desist till the barbarous despotism of the Khalifa is a thing of the past; that we should, from the outset, proceed to organize the administration of the reconquered provinces on our own lines; and that, whatever expense their reconquest and reorganization may involve, we should not allow it to imperil the hardly-won solvency of the Egyptian government. That may seem a large programme, but there is nothing appalling in the task."

If England reconquers the Soudan at her own cost, then she can establish in the recovered country good administration, unfettered by any of those influences, native or international, which have hampered, though they have not frustrated, her civilizing mission.

AS TO EVACUATION.

The reviewer then proceeds to discuss the further question as to the British position in Egypt. It appears that the natives need as much as, perhaps more than, ever to be saved from themselves. The case against abandoning the country is overwhelming:

"But if that be so, and if, as seems increasingly evident, the British people are now determined not to surrender their control over the destinies of Egypt, has not the time come for clearly announcing that determination? What possible advantage can there be in attempting to hide our resolutions from the world, or to meet the inquiries, which France is sure to make from time to time, as to the date of our withdrawal, with the old shuffling excuses?"

"It would surely be less dishonest to say at once that we find we are unable to do what we have so often declared that we were going to do, than to keep on repeating that we mean to do it, when we have not the least idea when or how. No doubt our declarations about withdrawal, absolutely sincere when first made, are very difficult to get over. But they will not become less difficult by being repeated now when they have ceased to be sincere."

ANNEX? NO, ONLY OCCUPY.

France, of course, would protest, and the reviewer does not for a moment suggest that France would easily and at once agree; but France at present clings desperately to every shape of international control in Egypt, because it is hoped by this means to worry England to withdraw. If once she realized that this was hopeless, she might be induced to surrender weapons which only made her odious in Egyptian eyes, but which were quite ineffectual for the purpose for which she employs them. The reviewer concludes as follows:

"The British people, if we read their mind aright, have no wish to annex Egypt. They do mean to remain responsible for her security and good government. They are determined not to let the work of the last fourteen years be undermined or overthrown, and they will not tolerate interference with it from any quarter. Now that is a policy to which the majority of the powers are already tacitly consenting, and in which even France may ultimately be willing to acquiesce. No doubt she would prefer that we should renounce any predominance whatever in Egypt; but if that were clearly hopeless she might see more wisdom in joining with others to recognize the exceptional rights which our exceptional sacrifices have given us than in advertising her impotence by barren protests and ineffectual acts of annoyance. And, on the other hand, in

order to insure general recognition of our position as protectors of Egypt, there are many concessions, important from the point of view of French sentiment, which we could afford to make. No doubt to arrive at any understanding with France would be a work of great difficulty. It might take a long time; but it is not hopeless if we can once make up our minds to let France and Europe know what we really mean. In the discussions which are sure to arise, both at home and abroad, with regard to the Soudan campaign and the questions arising out of it—questions like that of the powers of the Caisse or the extent of the jurisdiction of the mixed tribunals—we shall have ample opportunities of making our objects and intentions clear. It is of importance that we should use them to free our diplomatic attitude with regard to the Egyptian question from that evasiveness and ambiguity with which it has hitherto not unnaturally been reproached."

THE HOPE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. A. MICHIE writes an article on "The Hope of South Africa; a Study on the Ground," in *Blackwood's Magazine* for August. Mr. Michie is a gentleman who has spent sufficiently short time in South Africa to have acquired the right to dogmatize with all the sweet assurance of "one who has been there, you know." He is very severe upon the raiders, from Mr. Rhodes downward. He says that outside the inner and outer Rhodesian circles Mr. Rhodes is regarded by the South African world as the curse of Africa:

"In Cape Town the Rhodesian and anti-Rhodesian currents are sharply divided, like the two ocean currents which are split by the promontory. In the country, as you recede from the capital, the Rhodesian cult becomes paler and colder until you reach Johannesburg, where the name is execrated—a fact unknown or unnoticed in England. And it is a curious commentary on recent events that the Uitlander community there evinced no sympathy with the political conspiracy which was artificially associated with the Jameson raid. They in whose names the 'reform' agitation was raised, by external agency, repudiate the whole business as a mere scheme of Mr. Rhodes' to achieve some purpose of his own to which they were not parties, and which he has never disclosed. The so-called reform movement in Johannesburg, whose object was to redress grievances which were no longer tolerable, was, in its later phase at least, not only unpopular, but anti-popular, for its obvious purpose, as was speedily perceived, was to enthrone a select group of capitalists, in whose justice, purity, and philanthropy the general community of Johannesburg felt less confidence than in the corrupt administration of the Hollander-ridden Boers. Rhodesian and anti-Rhodesian agreed in considering the whole reform agitation a 'put-up job.'"

THE COLLAPSE OF THE COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Of Mr. Chamberlain's conduct of affairs at the Colonial Office, he remarks that the Colonial Office was singular in its blank condition of its foreknowledge. The communications which have taken place between the Colonial Office and the Transvaal government have been of a character that defies classification :

"That a British statesman in his pride of place, and with the force of a great empire behind him, should expose himself to discomfiture at the hands of an unlettered peasant with a population scarcely larger than that of Brighton at his back, in a field of diplomacy chosen by himself, and with weapons of his own selection, is an enigma for which we must seek some solution if we would comprehend anything of what is now going on.

"The diplomatic collapse of the Colonial Secretary, if it may be considered as an episode by itself, yields to a comparatively simple explanation, which, if not representing the ultimate verity, comes sufficiently near to serve as a working hypothesis."

WHAT MUST BE DONE.

That explanation is simply that Mr. Chamberlain was completely in the dark as to arrangements. The Colonial Office knew nothing that the Chartered Company did not choose to tell it, and hence when the press and the country urged prompt and decisive action, the Colonial Secretary rushed into the open, while his adversary waited for him behind granite boulders. When the situation became clear, and Mr. Chamberlain saw how the land lay, he suddenly became passive, and perhaps a trifle dilatory. Mr. Michie thinks that the Chartered land should be taken over by the Colonial Office, and the one hope of South Africa is the Imperial factor :

"South Africa requires first of all that the British government shall definitely assert its authority there. This is the desire of Boer and Kaffir alike. Secondly, efficient machinery to execute the will of the government, having as its head a competent representative always in evidence in Africa, a real High Commissioner, shielded from every influence save that of the Crown. Of course this will cost money, but not a tithe of what the neglect of our duty has cost and will continue to cost us. And it will be money well invested if it secures to us a man—there are plenty of them to be had for the asking—who would rule the natives like a father, filling the place vacated by their dead or conquered chiefs ; who would regulate the influx of settlers into new territory, while assisting them in all lawful enterprises, and who would defend both white and black against all interference from without. Rhodesia has of course the most pressing claim, and there need be no longer any delicacy about superseding the worthless sham that has pretended to govern that territory. But the Queen's representative who shall wield this imperial authority in South Africa must have no Downing Street scheme given him to

work out, like that which crushed the best man ever sent to Africa—after Sir George Grey—nor must he have a task put upon him which man of woman born could never yet perform—that of serving two masters."

THE RISE AND FALL OF ORANGEISM.

The Story of One Hundred Years.

MR. MICHAEL MACDONAGH contributes to the *Contemporary Review* an interesting historical sketch of the Orange Society. Mr. MacDonagh is not an Orangeman and his chronicle is not inspired by sympathy. It is, indeed, the work of an enemy whose antipathy to Orangemen seems to be almost as intense as the detestation with which Orangemen regard the Pope. When all allowance is made for his enmity the story is still very interesting. Orangeism sprang out of just such circumstances as those which created the Land League :

"Like all societies and confederacies, political as well as agrarian, which have existed in Ireland, it has had its origin in feuds associated with the vicious land system of the country. The society was established on September 21, 1795, in the county of Armagh."

Its precursor was a society of Protestant peasants who had been evicted to make room for Catholics, and who went under the title of "Peep o' Day Boys," and carried fire and sword into the homesteads of their hated rivals.

"A BANDITTI OF MURDERERS."

The Catholics organized in opposition a society known as "Defenders," and one hundred years ago last September the two factions came to open war at the "Battle of the Diamond." The "Peep o' Day Boys" were victorious, and immediately after their victory the Orange Society was born and at once proceeded to acts of greatest atrocity :

"The Orangemen demolished during the months that followed almost every Catholic house in the county of Armagh, and thousands of Papists were forced to fly for their lives to the province of Connaught, as well as to the neighboring counties of Cavan, Monaghan, and Tyrone. 'To hell or Connaught' was the ultimatum presented to the Catholics of northeast Ulster. Over 7,000 of them took refuge in the remote western province. 'They call themselves Orangemen and Protestant boys,' said Henry Grattan, in the Irish House of Commons in 1797, in the course of a debate on the deeds of the society. 'They are a banditti of murderers, committing massacres in the name of God and exercising despotic powers in the name of liberty.'"

SUPPRESSED AND REVIVED.

Its subsequent history has borne abundant traces of its sanguinary birth throes :

"The misdeeds of the Orange Society have been frequently exposed in the Imperial Parliament. In

1813 several petitions were presented to the Lords and Commons praying for its suppression. Nothing was done by the government, however, till 1825, when an act was passed dissolving the society for three years. That act was evaded simply enough. For the three years of its existence the 'Orange Lodges' were called 'Brunswick Clubs,' and, when the act lapsed in 1828, the 'Brunswick Clubs' were retransformed into Orange Lodges. At this time the society was of the most wide reaching and formidable character. In 1808 an Orange Society, distinct from the Irish organization, but with the same objects, had been established in England, with headquarters at Manchester. In 1821 the Grand Lodge was removed to London. The Duke of York was invited to become Grand Master; but he declined, on being advised that the organization was illegal; but in 1828, after the Act of Suppression had lapsed, the Irish and the English branches of the institution were amalgamated, and, with Ernest, Duke of Cumberland (brother of George IV.), as Grand Master, the society, still oath bound, and with an elaborate system of secret signs and pass-words, commenced afresh its career of fratricidal strife.

DISSOLVED BY ROYALTY.

"And now comes a remarkable episode in the history of the institution. In March, 1835, a debate in the House of Commons, initiated by Hume resulted in the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the origin, objects, and methods of the Orange Society.

"It is a remarkable fact that not a single word in defense of the Orange Society is to be found expressed by any Minister of the Crown in the numerous Parliamentary debates of which the society has been the subject, or in the reports of the various Parliamentary committees that have inquired into its objects and actions, or in any historical work by any independent and impartial Protestant writer. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that no movement in this kingdom has been so universally condemned and reprobated.

"As a result of the disclosures before the Select Committee of 1835, a resolution was unanimously adopted by the House of Commons praying the King to take such measures as to him seemed advisable 'for the effectual discouragement of Orange Lodges,' and his Majesty in reply said: 'It is my firm intention to discourage all such societies in my dominions, and I rely with confidence on the fidelity of my loyal subjects to support me in this determination.' Yielding, then, to the pressure of opinion—public, parliamentary, and royal—the Duke of Cumberland dissolved the institution in Ireland, Great Britain and the Colonies. But so far as Ireland was concerned the society was merely disbanded as a system of affiliated lodges under a Grand Lodge, for the lodges throughout the country continued to exist in an unaffiliated condition. This state of things lasted till 1845, when the rules of the society were revised by Mr. Joseph Napier, Q.C., and the

present declaration was substituted for the old illegal oath, though the form of words is actually similar; and the Grand Lodge having been again opened in 1849, the institution began the present phase of its career.

THE MIGHTY FALLEN.

"It was practically omnipotent in Ireland at the opening of the century. Its members occupied all the high places of the land, executive and administrative. It was sworn before the Select Committee in 1835 that there were 200,000 members of the society in Ireland, and all its leaders were wealthy and powerful territorial magnates. It has to-day at most about 10,000 nominal members, but morally and intellectually it has little or no influence. It is almost exclusively composed of the artisans and laborers of the towns. There are not many substantial men of business, or men of good social position or ability, in its ranks. It is now regarded as an extremely vulgar and ludicrous movement by the vast majority of Protestants, who deplore its sinister influence in destroying or impairing the charities and amenities of religious and civic life in Ireland."

HORRORS OF INITIATION.

What goes on within the lodges no one but Orangemen can tell. Mr. MacDonagh, however, gives some hints of the extraordinary and gruesome nature of the ceremonial. He says:

"It is to the revelations of the coroner's court and the police court that we are indebted for our information of the tomfooleries attending the ceremonies of initiation in the Orange lodges. Mishaps resulting in loss of life or injury to limb occur in the course of these extraordinary proceedings. A short time ago a man was shot dead in an Orange lodge in the North of Ireland. It was explained at the inquest that revolver shots are used in the course of the ceremonies, and on this occasion it happened that the weapon, unknown to the person who used it, was loaded with ball cartridges. On a similar occasion in a Belfast lodge, a man ascending 'the first three steps of Jacob's ladder,' blindfolded, fell back and was killed. Another curious incident was that of a man who, in going through the ceremony of initiation to the second degree of Orangeism, was put blindfolded into a blanket or net hammock, and swung about in it so violently that he sustained a dislocation of the spine at the back of the neck."

For some months an interesting series of illustrated articles, entitled "Haunts of the Poets," by various writers, has been running in *Atalanta*. It includes Wordsworth and Westmoreland, Scott and the Scottish Highlands, Shelley and Surrey, Hampstead and Keats, and Shenstone and Warwickshire. In the August number Mr. Aymer Vallance writes on the history of "Knives, Spoons and Forks;" Barbara Russell on "Home Arts and Industries;" Maud Venables Vernon on "Bands of Mercy;" and Mr. R. O. A. Dawson on the "Modern Jews in Europe."

A CHILD'S ODD PRAYERS.

"CORNHILL" has an article on "Children's Theology," which is full of good things. Several have already gone the round of the papers, and all suggest that this branch of the now fashionable "child-study" will be more sedulously cultivated in magazinedom than heretofore. Here are a few specimens:

"Jacky is almost always on good terms with his mother, but he has a tiresome aunt whom he has good reason for disliking. He was once unavoidably left in her charge while his mother was away from home, and her visit was not altogether a success. She had been 'obliged' to punish him severely for some fault, and after the operation was over he was seen to get a pencil and, retiring into a corner of the nursery, laboriously write something upon a small piece of paper. The same spy who observed him do this watched him afterward from the window while he dug a hole with his little spade and buried the bit of paper in a corner of the garden. When Jacky was safely out of the way the spy exhumed his manuscript. It ran as follows: 'Dear Devil, — Please come and take Antie.'

"Jacky longed above all things for a bicycle—longed and prayed, too, that some one, his god-mother for choice, would give him one. Every day he came downstairs hoping to find the machine of his prayers in the hall. At last something came, but it was a tricycle; and godmamma, lying in ambush to be a witness of the child's raptures, heard instead a heavy sigh, and 'O God, I did think you would have known the difference between a bicycle and a triycle.' Once, when he had been so exceedingly naughty that his mother almost despaired of him, she told him he must pray to God to make him a better boy. Accordingly he began with the usual formula, 'Pray, God, make me a good boy,' adding, after a pause, 'and if at first you don't succeed, try, try, try again.'"

SOME ABYSSINIAN PERSONAGES.

IN the *United Service Magazine* for August, Captain d'Albenzio describes as follows the personages whom he saw in the Abyssinian camp during the time that he was a prisoner of King Menelik:

"I once saw the Empress Taitù riding at the head of the soldiers. She is an immensely corpulent woman. I could not see her face, for she had a piece of white stuff over her head which hung down to her breast. Menelik is a very robust man. His hair and beard are black and curly, his nose turns up. His eyes are very black and large. He dresses with great simplicity, and while on the march wears a large straw hat to protect him from the sun. Both he and Taitù are extremely feared. Mangascia, a handsome, strong man of about thirty years of age, is effeminate. He dresses very richly, has his long, black hair braided every day into a quantity of

little braids, which are then twisted at each side of his head over his ears, in which hang gold earrings. Ras Alula is about sixty years old. His long beard is gray. He generally rides on horseback. He is very rigid, and has sworn enmity to the Italians ever since they first set foot in Africa."

JAPANESE COMPETITION AGAIN.

LAST month we quoted at some length from two articles in the *Overland Monthly* which dealt with the subject of Japanese industrial competition with the United States from radically different points of view. The *North American Review* for August has an article entitled "Is Japanese Competition a Myth?" by the Hon. Robert P. Porter, who has recently returned from an extended visit to Japan. Mr. Porter is convinced that Japan has already become a formidable competitor in many industries, and is rapidly forging to the front in others. The present commercial relations between the United States and Japan are thus summarized by Mr. Porter:

"We buy of Japan about \$54,000,000 worth of goods; Japan buys of us \$9,000,000, mostly staples; Japan takes our \$54,000,000 and buys \$56,000,000 of England, and England, not to be outdone by Japan in generosity, buys about \$7,000,000 of that country. All this is sad, and discouraging and humiliating, I know, but it is true as the Gospel. That it is true would seem to me one reason why the people of the United States must look at the question of Japanese competition free from all sentimental considerations. In other words, we must protect our own industry and our own labor."

THE SECRET OF JAPAN'S STRENGTH.

"Japan has an industrial army that has gone into the conflict of nations with whatever implement it had at hand. It has not waited until every man was equipped with the latest modern appliances, but has begun making excellent articles with the tools within its reach. In Osaka, it is no exaggeration to say, I saw the methods of a thousand years ago, side by side with the latest and most ingenious labor-saving devices. The quotations from the Rice Exchange were being waved by flags from peak to peak, within a stone's throw of the Post Office building, where could be heard the click of the telegraph instruments, and the 'hello' of the telephone girl in her kimono. In the magnificently equipped cotton-spinning and weaving factories, in paper mills, in some of the large silk factories, in the clock and watch factories, in the machine shops of Japan, I have seen the most modern English, German and American machinery, and forces of men and women as thoroughly organized and as fully equipped as any on earth.

"On the other hand, within the shadow of these immense establishments in the Osaka district, where tall chimneys remind one of Manchester, Philadel

phia and Chicago, thousands of human beings labor with tools so crude and implements so antique that you are taken back to the cities of the ancient world.

"These tremendous contrasts, to my mind, show the courage of the Japanese. He simply throws away the old device when he can secure the new. Like all good workmen, however, he does not stand idly by waiting for the better implements. He pounds away at his rice, runs off beautiful silken threads from the ancient spinning wheel, plies the hand dexterously at all occupations, as he did a thousand years ago, wholly oblivious of the hum and rattle of the modern machinery in the surrounding factories. He cannot afford to stop, but he is none the less awaiting his turn to secure the newer machine. When Japan is fully equipped with the latest machinery, it will, in my opinion, be the most potent industrial force in the markets of the world."

THE NEEDLESS WASTE OF COAL.

MR. JOSEPH D. WEEKS, writing in *Cassier's* for August, makes several important suggestions in regard to fuel problems. From his study of the subject he concludes that there has been a loss in mining of 70 per cent. of the coal in the veins, that not to exceed 10 per cent. of the possible energy in the coal now consumed is utilized, and that there is a constant waste of coal products other than heat.

"The loss of coal from miscalculations or bad engineering of the mine is enormous. Pillars may be too large and the coal wasted; or too small, and the pillars crush and shut off the coal beyond. It is not unusual to leave unmined a part of a vein that is either under or above a slate, and which may not be quite so pure as that mined. The waste from this source is enormous. There are mines in the Pittsburgh region where, with seventy-one and one half inches of coal, but thirty two inches of clean coal and the bearing-in coal of four inches are mined; thirty-six inches out of seventy-one and one-half inches are left untouched, a loss of thirty-five and one-half inches; practically, one half of the coal is left in the mine, besides the waste in mining. This custom is not at all uncommon. The miner may do his work very unskillfully in bringing down the coal, in loading and other ways to which I need but refer at this time. How can this waste be avoided?"

"It cannot be entirely avoided, but it can be still further decreased by just the methods by which it has already been largely reduced. Mechanical means, instead of the coal itself, can be used for supporting the roof and surface; gobbing up will often give a much larger percentage of coal; better engineering of the collieries will give better methods and less waste. All of the vein can be mined, even if a portion of it is inferior, and many methods can be greatly improved."

WASTE IN USE.

As to the problems connected with the use of coal, Mr. Weeks suggests the following desiderata:

"1. A more perfect combustion; that is, from the same amount of fuel more heat units must be developed.

"2. Improved appliances for saving this heat and transmuting it into energy. Not only must these increased heat units do more work, but each individual heat unit must directly develop more energy.

"3. Recuperation of so-called exhausted energy; that is, the heat must continue at work until the actual limit of exhaustion has been reached.

"The use of gases instead of solid fuel is an example of the first direction in which we are to look for the answers to the problems connected with the use of coal. The improvements in the steam engine are examples of the second class, and the Siemens regenerator and compound engines of the third."

VALUE OF BY-PRODUCTS.

Mr. Weeks makes a wonderful showing of the products locked up in coal which are now permitted to go to waste.

"In every ton of coal coked in the United States, it is fair to assume that from any of the by-product coke ovens there can be produced at least 3 per cent. of tar worth one-third of a cent per pound; 1 per cent. of sulphate of ammonia worth 3 cents a pound; one-half of 1 per cent. of benzole worth 2 cents a pound, and one pound cyanide of potassium worth 50 cents per pound. As in 1893, 14,916,147 tons of coal were coked in the United States, the possible production and value at present prices of these products would have been as follows:

Materials.	Amount. Pounds.	Value.
Tar	590,045,880	\$1,988,820
Sulphate of ammonia.....	298,322,940	8,949,688
Benzole.	149,161,470	2,983,229
Cyanide of potassium.....	14,916,147	7,458,073
		\$21,379,810

"The above products, however, are only those from the 15,000,000 of tons of coal coked in one year. What about the value of the by-products of the 113,000,000 tons of coal not coked? How many tons of tar and ammonia and benzole and cyanide could be saved from this amount of coal? The amount of ammonia would be something enormous, though the tar and benzole, if the coal was properly burned into gas before it was applied to heating purposes, as it should be, would not be so great as when the coal is coked. The Mond circular producer, which I saw at work a year ago in England on Yorkshire coal, gave 48 kilos (105 pounds) of sulphate of ammonia per ton of coal charged, and 80 to 90 pounds was the regular yield."

Estimating the value of these by products per ton of coal burned at 50 cents, the total loss on the coal mined in 1893 would have been \$64,000,000.

ELECTRICITY DIRECT FROM COAL.

IN the *Engineering Magazine* for July, which is a good number, G. H. Stockbridge describes Dr. Jacques' promise of a revolution in power production by producing electricity directly from coal. E. H. Williams puts more concisely the same wonderful discovery of Dr. Jacques. By it "over eighty per cent. of the energy of the carbon can be obtained directly as electricity without the intervention of machinery, by a method as simple as wonderful. Dynamos will be sent to the attics, and it will be cheaper to heat and work by electricity than by fires. In a series of iron cells Dr. Jacques places caustic soda, which he fuses at 300 degrees F., and in the fused alkali he places rods of carbon. Air being forced through the bath, the combination of carbon and oxygen creates electricity in such quantities that arc lights can be run for hours with little or no consumption of carbon. If this is all that it is claimed to be,—and its sponsors are men who understand what they are saying,—the old culm banks contain reserve energy sufficient to furnish us with power for many generations, and the coal now in the ground will be so mined that culm banks will cease to be the most prominent objects in an old anthracite district."

"Culm banks" are better known in Great Britain as anthracite "pit heaps." At present, by the ordinary methods in use, only 10 or at most 18 per cent. of the energy of the carbon is turned into electric energy. R. Hering's paper in the same magazine, on the filtration of municipal water supplies, is an instructive commentary on the contrast between Altona, which had filtered water, and Hamburg, which had not, during the cholera visitation. Valuable and sensible remarks on the architecture of home-making are contributed by C. E. Benton.

WILLIAM BLACK AT HOME.

THE *Young Man* for August publishes an account of William Black, the popular novelist, as he is to be seen at Brighton. The writer says:

"Mr. Black's home is—and has been for many years—Paston House, Paston Place, Brighton. But it is a home in which he never spends more than half the year—from September or October to March or April. At any other time you would have to find him in the Highlands, where he and his family take up their residence at a different spot every year. But it is at Paston House that the novelist does the greater part of his work."

The article is chiefly made up of notes on William Black's conversations upon his career. From these I extract the more interesting passages, as follows:

"I did not resign my position of assistant editor of the *Daily News* till 1875, and for some time after that I contributed articles to the paper. With my method of writing a novel I was only too glad to escape from journalism.

HOW HE WRITES HIS NOVELS.

"I felt that I could not do myself justice in novel writing until it was my only occupation."

"And what is that method?"

"A very slow and painful one, I am afraid. I am building up a book months before I write the first chapter; before I can put pen to paper I have to realize all the chief incidents and characters. I have to live with my characters, so to speak; otherwise, I am afraid they would never appear living people to my readers. This is my work during the summer; the only time that I am really from the burden of the novel that is to be is when I am grouse shooting or salmon fishing. At other times I am haunted by the characters and the scenes in which they take part, so that for the sake of his peace of mind my method is not to be recommended to any young novelist. When I come to the writing I have to immerse myself in perfect quietude; my study is at the top of the house, and on the two or three days a week that I am writing Mrs. Black guards me from interruption.

"Of course, now and again I have had to read a great deal, preparatory to writing. Before beginning 'Sunrise,' for instance, I went through the history of secret societies in Europe."

A FRIEND OF JOHN BRIGHT.

The following items of information are not generally known:

"The novelist knew Mr. Bright very well, and at the Reform Club played many a game of billiards with the statesman. Their great love for salmon fishing was another bond of friendship between them.

"During his last illness," Mr. Black tells me, "Mr. Bright would often take a rod and pretend to throw a line in the effort to realize the pleasure of his favorite sport."

"WAR CORRESPONDENT OF THE MORNING STAR."

"Mr. Black was war correspondent for the *Morning Star*—John Bright's organ—in the conflict of 1866 between Austria and Prussia. Of his fighting experiences he gave some account in the first novel—'Love or Marriage'—published in the following year. Of this book Mr. Black does not care to speak, and I believe that it is a matter of some regret to him that it can still be read in the British Museum. It certainly gives no indication of the 'line' which Mr. Black was so brilliantly to make his own; but, on the other hand, it does not deserve the oblivion to which the author is apparently anxious to consign it. In its frank treatment of the marriage question, and its realistic picture of some of the horrors of war, the novel anticipates in some degree several of the most successful works of fiction during the last few years. Mr. Black surveyed the field of Königgrätz just after the battle, and the picture he gives of the scene in the novel has some

of the realism of Zola's 'The Downfall' and Stephen Crane's 'The Red Badge of Courage.'"

REMINISCENCES OF PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

MR. WARD made Mr. Huxley's acquaintance in 1890. He became a neighbor of his at Eastbourne, and afterward had many talks on every conceivable subject, and of these conversations, which are among the most intellectually stimulating that he had ever known, he gives us some notes in this article in the *Nineteenth Century*. He was delighted to find that instead of being a pugilist, a pedant and a scoffer, Huxley had a personality of singular charm, gentle, sympathetic and brilliant. The general impression left by his face was one of intellectual force and activity rather than of scorn; in his manner and appearance there was marked distinction and dignity; his conversation was singularly finished and clear cut. Instead of suggesting more than he said, as Tennyson and Cardinal Newman did, he finished his thoughts completely and expressed them with the utmost precision. In conversation he was tolerant as a listener, and always more brilliant, forcible, and definite than convincing, suggestive or entirely comprehensive in his replies.

DOOMED TO BE RESPECTABLE.

When made Privy Councillor in '92, he replied:

"Very many thanks [he wrote] for your kind congratulations. Morris has a poem somewhere about the man who was born to be a king, and became one in spite of probability. It is evident to me now that I was born to be respectable. I have done my level best to avoid that honor, but behold me indelibly stamped."

Mr. Ward reports a saying of his in 1892 which is worthy of note:

"Faulty and incorrect as is the Christian definition of Theism, it is nearer the truth than the creed of some agnostics who conceive of no unifying principle in the world." He proceeded to defend eloquently the argument from design, referring me to his volume of *Darwiniana*, to show that he had admitted in print that it could not be disproved by the evolution theory. This position, which entirely tallies with his statement that only a 'very great fool' would deny in his heart a God conceived as Spinoza conceives Him, was distinctly short of the degree of agnosticism currently attributed to him by those who read him hastily and blended their own logic with his rhetoric."

Huxley once said that he thought his own lecture on Descartes was the best exhibition of his religious attitude as a whole. Speaking of the value of qualities, Huxley once said, men of ability are common enough, but men of character and conviction are very rare. It is the grandest thing conceivable to see a man speaking out and acting out his convictions in the face of unpopularity. This led him to

have a great admiration for Gregory VII. as a man of strength and conviction. Of his Romanes lecture of 1893 he said that it was not a recantation of aggressive theological views, but he admitted that the main thesis is only the doctrine that from the scientific side Satan is the prince of this world.

The following are some notes of Huxley's anecdotes and observations:

HIS VIEW OF STANLEY.

"So, too, Stanley's impressionable imaginative nature was brought out by him in an anecdote. Stanley, vividly impressed by the newest thought of the hour, liberal, and advanced by family and school tradition, had sympathized with Colenso's treatment of the Bible in some degree; yet his historical impressionableness told the other way. Huxley explained his position thus:

"Stanley could believe in anything of which he had seen the supposed site, but was skeptical where he had not seen. At a breakfast at Monckton Milnes', just at the time of the Colenso row, Milnes asked me my views on the Pentateuch, and I gave them. Stanley differed from me. The account of creation in Genesis he dismissed at once as unhistorical; but the call of Abraham and the historical narrative of the Pentateuch he accepted. This was because he had seen Palestine—but he wasn't present at the creation."

"Admirably did he once characterize Tennyson's conversation. 'Doric beauty is its characteristic—perfect simplicity, without any ornament or anything artificial.' Of an eminent person whose great subtlety of mind was being discussed, he said that the constant overrefinement of distinctions in his case destroyed all distinctness. Anything could be explained away, and so one thing came to mean the same as its opposite. Some one asked, 'Do you mean that he is untruthful?' 'No,' replied Huxley, 'he is not clear headed enough to tell a lie.'"

BRIGHT.

"One of the subjects of his enthusiasm was John Bright—his transparent sincerity, his natural distinction, his oratorical power. 'If you saw him and A. B.' (naming a well known nobleman) 'together,' he said, 'you would have set down Bright as the aristocrat, and the other as the plebeian. His was the only oratory which ever really held me. His speeches were masterpieces. There was the sense of conviction in them, great dignity, and the purest English.'"

TENNYSON.

"He once spoke strongly of the insight into scientific method shown in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, and pronounced it to be 'quite equal to that of the greatest experts.' Tennyson he considered the greatest English master of melody except Spenser and Keats. I told him of Tennyson's insensibility to music, and he replied that it was curious that scientific men as a rule had more appreciation of

music than poets or men of letters. He told me of one long talk he had had with Tennyson, and added that immortality was the one dogma to which Tennyson was passionately devoted."

AND BROWNING.

"Of Browning, Huxley said: 'He really has music in him. Read his poem, "The Thrush," and you will see it. Tennyson said to me,' he added, 'that Browning had plenty of music in him, but he could not get it out.'

"A few more detached remarks illustrate the character and tastes of the man. He expressed once his delight in Switzerland and in the beauty of Monte Generoso. 'There is nothing like Switzerland,' he said. 'But I also delight in the simplest rural English scenery. A country field has before now entranced me.' 'One thing,' he added, 'which weighs with me against pessimism, and tells for a benevolent Author of the universe, is my enjoyment of scenery and music. I do not see how they can have helped in the struggle for existence. They are gratuitous gifts.'"

SIR JOHN SEELEY.

MR. HERBERT A. L. FISHER, in the *Fortnightly Review* for August, publishes a good article on Sir John Seeley, whose literary and religious teachings he describes in some detail. He says:

"Twice he took the English reading world by storm, once by a book on religion, and again by a book on politics; and each book, in its own sphere, may be held to mark an epoch in the popular education of the Anglo-Saxon race.

"There is one idea which inspires every sentence which came from Seeley's pen. It is the idea of the state. For him the state is not only the proper matter of history, it is the noblest object of human contemplation, the most vital subject for human inquiry. And he derived this enthusiasm for history in the first place from the Bible. 'I may say, in one word,' he writes, 'that my ideas are *Biblical*, that they are drawn from the Bible at first hand, and that what fascinates me in the Bible is not a passage here and there, not something which only a scholar or antiquarian can detect in it, but the Bible as a whole, its great plan and unity, and principally the grand poetic anticipation I find in it of modern views concerning history.'"

HIS RELIGIOUS WORK.

Seeley's ideal, the influence of which is manifest, was that active enthusiasm was the noblest form of life, and essential to the preservation of a healthful society. This writer thinks his conception of the state he portrayed was due to his devotion to the Hebrew Scriptures. Mr. Fisher says of "*Ecce Homo*:"

"That book marks the appearance of the plain lay judgment upon a sphere which had been long monopolized either by the disciples of a pious ecclesi-

astical tradition, or by professed biblical scholars. It raised questions which had not been so clearly put before, precisely because those for whom they were most interesting had never considered them from an exclusively human standpoint, and they were fundamental questions."

"*Ecce Homo*" was by no means the only service which Sir John Seeley rendered to the religious life of his century. As long ago as 1868, addressing the Broad Church, he exhorted the ministers of religion to devote more attention to the history of their own country. He said:

"If the Christian Church is ever to recover influence, its ministers must make themselves acquainted with the social questions of their time; they must expel conventionalism and euphuism and vagueness from their sermons; and they must make their congregations familiar with the heroes of national history."

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO HISTORY.

Of his other books Mr. Fisher writes as follows:

"In '*Natural Religion*' we have the philosophy of Goethe subordinated to the strong practical interests of the English historian.

"The '*Expansion of England*' has become a household book and a household phrase. It said nothing which historians had not known before. But I question whether any historical work has exercised so great an influence over the general political thinking of a nation.

"Seeley wrote nothing which was not bold, and little which was not original. The '*Growth of British Policy*' is a conspicuous instance of his singular power of simplifying an extraordinary complex period of history and of presenting its main features in a salient and even startling outline. He delights in packing a century into a formula, a policy into a paradox, a career into a phrase. Whatever weight may be attached to these and similar criticisms, the book will remain a solid and original contribution to English history. The author has taken us over a familiar country by a new route. He has not, indeed, increased our knowledge of facts. That was not his ambition. His services rather consist in this, that in an age of innumerable fresh documents and monographs and periodicals, he has brought a fresh mind to reflect upon our acquisitions, and so to winnow and combine the material as to present the cardinal lessons of history, cleared of all trivial and unessential detail."

The chief elements of interest in *Temple Bar* for August are a sketch by Mr. John Macdonell of the late Lord Bramwell and a piece of good-humored advice to literary ladies, whom the writer thinks have been too hardly dealt with in literature, but who might with advantage wear their learning and their new-found rights more lightly. There is also a ghastly account of Bicêtre, the old French criminal lunatic asylum.

WHITEWASHING JUDGE JEFFREYS.

FRANCIS WATT contributes a rather brilliant article regarding Judge Jeffreys to the *New Review*. It is about time "Bloody Jeffreys" had his turn with a whitewasher. Mr. Francis Watt addresses himself to the task with zeal, although he wisely refrains from endeavoring to convert Jeffreys into a first-class saint. His summing up is as follows:

"In fact, he was, like most of us, a mixed character. He had faults, but, let us recall it, these were balanced by some virtues, and much may be pleaded in mitigation of the judgment history has passed upon him."

Mr. Watt thinks his industry and his success in an arduous profession prove that he could not have been the drunkard he has been described. He had bitter enemies who had able pens at their disposal, and they took great care to hand him down to posterity much blacker than he really appeared in life. As a lawyer, Mr. Watt says:

"He despised, and perhaps neglected, the meaningless technicalities of old English jurisprudence. He had the true judicial instinct. He grasped the main features of his case. With counsel laboring their openings, he was devilishly impatient of irrelevancy and waste of time, things rampant in the courts of his day."

Few of us realize how very young he was when he achieved the renown which has "damned him to everlasting fame:"

"Scarce ever was rise so rapid as his. He was Common Sergeant of the City of London at twenty-three, and he was Lord High Chancellor at thirty-seven—an age at which the successful lawyer of to-day begins but to think of taking silk. He died ere he was forty-one."

All this points to the possession of remarkable ability:

"His talent from the first was so evident that attorneys competed for his services. As a cross-examiner he was unsurpassed (so Mr. Leslie Stephen told us long ago); and his style of oratory, however wanting in elegance, was admirably suited to the taste of his day. As Chancellor he introduced various much-needed reforms to his court. His decrees as Chancellor were never overruled. Before all, he had a real touch with life, a profound knowledge of human nature, especially in its baser aspects. He was one of those judges who take strong views, and express them strongly."

Mr. Watt does not even shrink from saying a word in defense of the famous "Bloody Assize" in the autumn of 1685. His defense chiefly amounts to the fact that there were others in it who must share his infamy, and from the political point of view that the terrorism which he exercised was not without its reward. He says:

"The chief counsel for the crown was Henry Pollexfen, the most famous Whig lawyer of his day, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas after the Revo-

lution, and the judges who 'rode the eyre' with Jeffreys concurred in all his measures. Yet the blame has been reserved for him alone. The government had determined to act with unsparing rigor, and its policy had some success."

SOME GERMAN MOTTOES.

THERE are two articles on German Proverbs in the German reviews for July. In the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, "Xanthippus" endeavors to trace the origin of some "Good Old German Mottoes," but most of them being in rhyme, they are not good to translate.

According to Zinzgref, the old saying:

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

was once inscribed on a wall to cause annoyance to the good Emperor Maximilian, but the Emperor wrote below it:

I am a man like every other man, but God has given me more honor.

There are several other sayings dealing with nobility and virtue:

Without virtue no nobility.

Character makes nobility, not blood.

As old age comes from youth,
Nobility comes from virtue.

Piety, honesty, purity, generosity, are the characteristics of the noble.

Luther says:

To be alone is to keep the heart pure.

As early as the fifteenth century there was a saying to the same effect, which Luther may have had in mind. Yet Luther would not have had Christians prefer solitude, but the people thought otherwise, for another proverb says:

Keep thyself pure, and think not highly of thyself;
prefer to be alone with God and thyself, and so live in peace and quiet.

The following is given as the motto of the Landgrave of Burgau:

To be always gay is dangerous,
To be always sad is hard,
To be always happy is deceptive,
It takes all to satisfy.

Other proverbs refer to old age:

Consider while young the life of the old man, so that when you grow old, you need not have to beg.

Lessing sums up worldly happiness in old friends, old wine and money. According to another proverb, the old man should be honored, the young man instructed, the wise man asked, and the fool tolerated.

THE FRENCH JOURNALIST ON HIS TRIAL.

M. CRUPPI'S series of articles on the Seine Assize Court is continued in the second July number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* with a paper on Press or Journalistic Trials.

For more than a hundred years it has been in France the subject of keen controversy whether offending press men should be tried before a jury, and many a scathing satire has been written on the assured ludicrous incompetence of the twelve good men and true to sit in judgment upon such delicate and important creatures as journalists. The first Constituent Assembly had no such misgivings. After the long silence of the Empire the Liberal party in France forced Napoleon on his return from Elba to accept the liberty of the press, and the right of a journalist to be tried before a jury. Since then the Paris press has been alternately petted and sat upon. The French journalist now writes with nothing but the fear of the law of 1881, which re-established jury trials in press cases, before his eyes, and this law was not substantially affected by the bill passed in consequence of the crimes of the Anarchists Vaillant and Caserio. At the same time that bill was the outward sign of a growing feeling in favor of curbing in some degree the license of the press. M. Cruppi is not himself in favor of severe measures, but he asks whether it is true that the jury system by its leniency is the chief cause of journalistic license in France.

To answer this question we must see the machine at work. Let us take a case. The complainant is a well known deputy or a high official. The newspaper which is prosecuted is directed by an illustrious pamphleteer, and the libels complained of are really atrocious. The case is one in which the Assize Court is competent, and the publisher of the libel can relieve himself of all responsibility if he can convince the jury of the truth of his allegations. But the person libeled does not by any means always prosecute. It is the man with a shady reputation who stands to win most by prosecuting. The political circumstances of the moment, a blunder on the part of his opponent's advisers, the difficulty of legally proving the statements made in the libel—all these circumstances give him a fair commercial chance of a verdict which would white-wash him most usefully, while if he loses the case he is not much, if at all, worse off than before. On the other hand, the honorable and innocent man will be distressed by the contradictory advice of his friends. If he does not prosecute he is regarded by many as guilty. If he decides to prosecute, it is but the beginning of his troubles. The delays, necessary and unnecessary, of the Assize Court give to the defendant's newspaper a valuable opportunity of influencing the public from which the jurors are drawn, and the jurors themselves as soon as their names are known. M. Cruppi gives really an alarming picture of the extent to which Paris jurymen are "got at" in various ways. The trial

comes on. In place of the polished and wicked Parisian whom the jury expected to see brought before them as the author of the libels they find a harmless-looking creature, rural in appearance, and so like themselves that they sympathize instinctively with him. This is the *Gerant*, the manager or publisher of the paper, a man of straw generally, whose profession it is to be prosecuted. M. Cruppi adds some interesting statistics which go to show that of recent years the proportion of acquittals to prosecutions in press cases has diminished, juries appearing to be more hard upon press offenses than upon other kinds of crimes.

THE AIM OF MODERN EDUCATION.

BY a process of eliminating what he terms the minor ends of education, Dr. C. H. Henderson, writing in *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly*, brings into view an educational ideal which deserves, perhaps, more attention than it commonly receives.

"Perhaps we shall the sooner see our mark by first clearing the ground a little, and disclaiming some of the ends proposed for education. My own list of unadmitted ends is somewhat long. I do not, for example, set as the object for education a good citizen, a successful breadwinner, a wise father, an expert mechanic, an adroit versifier, a keen lawyer, an eloquent preacher, a skillful physician, a learned professor, a prosperous tradesman. Some of these ends may be good enough in themselves. I do not discuss the question. But they are not the proper end of education. And they are not, because they are secondary, minor, special ends. They are not the major ends in life, though they are often mistaken for such. We are pretty far from the mark when we mistake for education any training which has a partial and special end in view. To erect any one of these ends into *the* end, and declare it to be the goal of education, is to fall by the wayside, and deliberately to turn one's face away from the New Jerusalem of the Intellect.

THE SUPREME END.

"The end in education should be the major end. It should be the very biggest thing in life, the most general and far-reaching good the mind can formulate. We cheat ourselves, we cheat the children, if we express the end in terms any less catholic than this. It may include good citizenship, wise parenthood, successful breadwinning, literary or technical skill, but it is not any one of these things. The greatest thing in life is life—life in its fullness and totality. It is this that education should set its face toward. Its end should be wholeness, integrity, and nothing less than this. It is false to its mission if it turn aside into any of the bypaths of convenience, of industry, or even of accomplishment and erudition."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

HARPER'S.

THE September *Harper's* assumes that the bicycle has not absolutely driven away its equine rival, and prints a very pleasant article by H. C. Merwin on "The Art of Driving." Mr. Merwin tells us that the proper way to drive a horse, according to English lights, is to hold the reins in the left hand only, the whip being kept in the right hand. The guiding is done by a turn of the wrist, and when the driver wishes to slacken speed or to pull up, the right hand, still holding the whip, should grasp the reins back of the left hand; the left hand can then be shifted forward so as to shorten the reins. But in America, where curb bits are not so much the rule, Mr. Merwin recommends that as a rule the driver should employ both hands, holding the reins as follows: "Coming from the bit, they pass between the little finger and the third finger, across the palm of the hand, and over the thumb, and then, if a particularly firm hold is wanted, the rein, after passing over the thumb, may be grasped again by the fingers. When you want either to shorten or to lengthen the reins, it is done by seizing the rein back of the left hand between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, so that the left hand is then free to move up or down the rein, as may be desired." Mr. Merwin's article is really a very excellent one on a subject which it is difficult to get intelligent instruction in. It is almost inevitable that people who really know how to ride and drive have not the habits which enable them to tell others. Everybody who has a horse or who drives one occasionally ought to read this essay.

AMONG THE CLIFF DWELLERS.

T. M. Prudden tells about "A Summer Among Cliff Dwellings," and the magazine gives pictures of the prehistoric homes and their implements which are still to be found in the northwestern corner of Arizona and the northwestern corner of New Mexico. Mr. Prudden thinks that "it is one of our numerous national disgraces that the United States government does not realize the importance of the immediate occupancy of this wonderful field of archaeological research, and see to it that the portable relics are not irretrievably dispersed. That portion of the reservation occupied by the Mesa Verde is of little use to the Indians or to any one else, and should be converted into a national park, with strict surveillance by competent persons of these priceless ruins, and careful preservation of those portions of the masonry which are still intact." Mr. Prudden tells us that the cliff dweller was a dark skinned man with long, coarse hair; that he was of medium stature and the back of his skull was flattened by being tied against a board in infancy. He was first a farmer, considerable of a hunter, and was skilled in masonry.

Charles Dudley Warner's "Editor's Study" is taken up entirely with amateur astronomical thoughts inspired by Percival Lowell's book on the planet Mars. Mr. Warner is able to draw some profitable conclusions concerning the management of our own little world from the achievements of the not impossible inhabitants of Mars.

The Harpers announce in the next number of the

magazine the first chapters of a new novel by George Du Maurier, to be called "The Martian."

THE CENTURY.

FROM the September *Century* we have selected Richard Burton's sketch of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Isaac B. Potter's article on the "Bicycle Outlook" to review among the "Leading Articles." In an "Open Letter," Carrie Niles Whitcomb outlines a working "Training School for Domestic Servants." Her idea is that the pupils ought to be taught every phase of housework from cleaning the kitchen floor up.

A PRACTICAL PROGRAMME.

"An ordinary dwelling house might be utilized for the school. The basement, which should be well lighted, could be fitted up as a laundry, capable of accommodating a large number of women, to be classified as they advance in skill in the department. There must be a head laundress to look after those under her, and inspectors to decide when a woman is capable of promotion. In a city of 5,000 inhabitants, such a laundry might easily be made self supporting.

"The first floor of the training school could be devoted to the cooking department. It should have several kitchens where the women in different stages of advancement could work under an expert leader. The different departments in cookery could be made self-supporting by having lunch counters where men could go in with their dinner pails and have served to them from the kitchens of the less skilled pupils hot soup, tea, coffee, and other plain food, while a restaurant of a better class might be sustained from the work of those who were more thoroughly trained. Another source of income might be secured by filling orders for special dishes or for whole meals. Setting a table, waiting, washing fine china and glass, and polishing silver, could be taught in connection with the restaurant.

"The upper floor should consist of a parlor and various apartments, where servants could be trained in cleaning, dusting, window washing, care of lamps, and all kinds of second work. From this department servants could be sent out by the hour or day to sweep, dust, or act as housemaids."

The school should give certificates of integrity and skill; small wages might be allowed after the first month or so with even raw hands. The writer does not consider the scheme at all more visionary than the ideas of training nurses, which have been carried out so successfully.

LIVINGSTONE'S TREE.

The diary of E. J. Glave, the young explorer who died after bravely seeking out the "Livingstone tree," in the Dark Continent, describes the last resting place of the first great African discoverer:

"Livingstone's grave is in a quiet nook, such as he himself desired, in the outskirts of a forest bordering on a grass plain where the roan buck and eland wander in safety. When I visited the place turtle doves were cooing in the tree tops, and a litter of young hyenas had been playing near by; in the low ground outside the hole leading to the cave were their recent tracks; they had scampered into safety at our approach."

SCRIBNER'S.

A WRITER in "The Field of Art" in the September *Scribner's* tests the evolution of artistic judgment in our race by a glance at the furniture and buildings around us, and is able to present gratifying conclusions. He rejoices in the salutary decrease in bric-a-brac. He finds office and club house furniture less ornate and stiff and more inviting and soothing. "The ferries and street cars are now built more sensibly of light woods, managed with great simplicity, yet with eminently satisfactory effect. Indeed there are many pretentious works of art—or, at art—that have less grace and taste than the Broadway cable-cars with their plain light woods, their undecorated interiors, their simple lettering and their severe outlines conformed primarily to directness and utility." Our sleeping cars, unfortunately, have hardly yet emerged from the stratum of knick-knackery and gloom, nor can this philosopher find much comfort in the large hotels of the great cities, with their gaudy frippery and oppressive elegance.

Frank French, the artist and engraver, writes on "Country Roads," not with views of inculcating theories on macadam, Belgian blocks and various compositions, but from the point of view of the artist and average citizen. He believes in the European laws against the destruction of trees along the roads, though bushes and shrubs he says should be so thinned out that the entire roadway from fence to fence would be discernible between groups, preserving its breadth and airiness. He laments the removal of dooryard fences, which has proved a detriment to the beauty of New England roads and homes. Mr. French beautifies his essay with charming wood engravings of country road scenes.

Frederic Irland gives an appreciative account of a sporting trip into a New Brunswick wilderness, one of the few "primeval" regions left to ambitious hunters and fishermen. He assures us that the resources of the remote waters of old Acadia are unimpaired from the point of view of him who seeks trout and salmon. But even here the salmon fishing is threatened by the salt water nets, for the salmon must perform their annual migration to tide water, and the supply may be annihilated without recourse to these beautiful waters.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

IN the September *Atlantic* Professor W. P. Trent writes on "Teaching the Spirit of Literature," and pleads for the imaginations and emotions of children in the bookish curriculum. He says:

"If I may judge from my experience with college work, covering several years, and from my briefer experience with school work, I am forced to the conclusion that sympathetic reading on the part of the teacher should be the main method of presenting literature, especially poetry, to young minds. I have never got good results from the history of literature or from criticism except in the case of matured students, and I never expect to. I have examined hundreds of papers in the endeavor to find out what facts or ideas connected with literature appeal most to the young, and I have found that in eight out of ten cases it is the trivial or the bizarre."

Professor J. B. McMaster writes on "The Election of the President," and traces briefly the history of the caucus and convention methods of nominating presidential candidates. He explains that the November "election" is not the election of the President, but only the election of the electoral college which is to choose the President.

The members of this body are, however, so closely pledged a particular candidate that millions of citizens who read the newspapers on the morrow really believe that a President has been elected, though nothing has been done which could be taken notice of by the House and Senate when they meet in joint session to witness the counting of the electoral votes. Not till the electoral colleges have voted, and the House and Senate acted, is a President elected; yet the proceedings of none of these bodies ever receive ten lines of notice in any newspaper in the country. Their usefulness is gone. There is now no reason for their existence, and that they will be suffered to exist much longer does not seem likely. The time has come when the election as well as the nomination of a President may safely be entrusted to the people."

MCCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

THE September *McClure's* contains an article on the discoverer of anaesthesia, Dr. W. G. T. Morton, by his wife, Elizabeth W. Morton. The great benefactor to suffering humanity was possessed with the idea of relieving pain by the application of sulphuric ether from his earliest manhood; he persisted in his experiments in the face of all denunciations and cries of humbuggery, and was, indeed, only twenty-seven when the first successful operation on a human being under the influence of ether made the inventor of the method world famous. But even after the plain and final demonstration, Dr. Morton still had to suffer the most extraordinary attacks. "Abuse and ridicule," says his wife, "were showered upon him by the public press, from the pulpit, and also by prominent medical journals, for presuming or daring to claim that he could prevent the pain of surgical operations. In those days I feared to look into a newspaper, for what wife does not feel more keenly unjust aspersions on her husband than he for himself?"

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps describes life "Among the Gloucester Fishermen." The novelist has lived for many years in a little cottage on the very edge of the rock bound Gloucester harbor, and her most everyday and intimate associations have been with the folk who form the characters in "Jack the Fisherman" and other of her works. Will H. Low, in his series of essays under the head "A Century of Painting," tells this month of Bastien Lepage, Meissonier, and the three great portraitists, Cabanel, Bonnat, and Carolus Duran, the last of whom was Mr. Low's own master.

LIPPINCOTT'S.

IN the September *Lippincott's* Mr. Theodore Stanton writes on the "Advantages of International Exhibitions" and attempts to show the gain accruing from these efforts by comparing the state of our commerce in the countries where expositions are held, before and after. He says: "Official statistics prove that our business grows, after an international exhibition, not only with the country where it is held, but also almost invariably with all the visiting nations." In consequence of this law, which Mr. Stanton's figures seem to authenticate, he concludes:

"1. Political reasons and trade advantages invite our participation in these international exhibitions. 2. The political considerations are especially imperative when the exhibition is held in Republican France. 3. Prompt action and a generous appropriation should be expected

of Congress, in order that we may have the time and money to prepare a worthy American section. In this instance France has sent out her invitation far earlier than ever before in the history of international fairs. The time requisite is, therefore, attainable. Congress has simply to act without further delay. The size of the appropriation is the only uncertain point, and it is to be hoped that public opinion will demand of Congress an adequate sum. If these two desiderata are obtained, the United States will, for the first time, take her proper rank in these gatherings of the nations of the world."

Col. John A. Cockerill gives some rather naïve directions telling "How to Conduct a Local Newspaper." He thinks that the local editor must find out at an early stage of his career that his journal cannot be a substitute for the great city papers in giving the world's news.

"A farmer may or may not care to know that the Driebund in Europe is overslaughed by the French and Russian alliance, but he is sure to want to know whether the break in the dam on the other side of the township is going to be repaired during the present season or not. This demand for home news is constant, and the supply is constant. Something is always happening, in the country as well as in the city, in small towns as well as in large ones, and the diligent editor who gathers up all such news and reports it fairly and as truthfully as possible, will always find readers and subscribers."

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

IN the September *Cosmopolitan* there is a note by the editor, Mr. John Brisben Walker, on the application of compressed air to street railways, which is coming very much to the fore these days. He "witnessed the test on the Harlem lines and was impressed by the ease with which a heavily laden car was handled. Starting without jerk and stopping in the shortest possible space were advantages which specially commended themselves to the passenger. The outfit is simple, consisting of steel tubes under the seats. These tubes are charged with air under two thousand pounds pressure. The air pressure operates a small cylinder engine under either side of the car. A single charge from the tanks at the end of the line will carry a loaded car for sixteen miles. The mechanism seems, to the casual eye, quite perfect. The cost of operating is claimed as lower than for either cable or electric service, and there is no such expensive construction of roadway as in the case of existing methods. The factor of safety is said to be large, notwithstanding the high pressure, and it seems possible that the same power may eventually be applied to horseless carriages under an even greater pressure than that in use for street cars."

The French astronomer, Camille Flammarion, is as usual rather spectacular in his essay on "The Wonderful New Eye of Science." "Never before," he says, "in the history of humanity have we been able to penetrate so deeply into the abysses of immensity. With the new improvements photography takes distinctly the image of each star, whatever its distance from us, and fixes it on a document which may be studied at leisure. Who can tell but that one day in the photographic views of Venus or Mars, a new method of analysis may enable us to discover their inhabitants. And this power extends to infinite space. Here, for example, is a star of the fifteenth, the sixteenth, the seventeenth magnitude, a sun like ours, so distant from us that its light takes

thousands, perhaps millions, of years to reach us, notwithstanding that it travels with the inconceivable rapidity of three hundred thousand kilometers a second; and this sun is so far off in space that its light never reaches us; still more, the natural eye of man would never have seen it, the human mind would never have divined its existence without the instruments of modern optics. And yet this faint light, coming from so far, suffices to impress a chemical plate, which retains its image unalterably."

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, Mr. Edward W. Bok, has a word in the September number of that periodical in answer to protests against the advertising features. He says:

"Every once in a while there comes to me from one of my readers a letter in which the writer decries the advertisements published in this magazine. It is either that my correspondents think we have too many advertisements, or that they are not properly placed. Then, almost invariably, comes the suggestion that this magazine shall stand alone among its contemporaries, and publish a periodical which shall exclude all advertisements, printing only the literary portions and the illustrations. Such a suggestion sounds well, and, in a sense, is attractive. But suppose this or any other magazine were to publish a number without advertisements, does any one fancy for a moment that the issue would be more attractive because of the omission? I am quite sure that it would not. The art of advertising has grown to such a point of excellence during the past few years that it has become almost a science. I am certain the magazines of to-day would lose a third of their attractiveness if they were issued barren of advertisements. The attractiveness of the modern advertisement on its highest plane has an unconscious charm to the reader, and the advertisements of our magazines are to-day classed among their most interesting qualities."

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

THE September *Munsey's* opens with a short article "In the White House," by Alice Ewing Lewis. She says that Mrs. Cleveland's social resources and courteous manner are absolutely unailing. "The President has been seen to look bored, and the cabinet ladies grow weary, but Mrs. Cleveland has reduced her social methods to such an art—for art it must be, since it would be palpably absurd to ask of flesh and blood that such superhuman endurance should be nature—that she is apparently as fresh at the close of the evening's ordeal as at its beginning, and as glad to see the last guest as the first."

Jean Pardee-Clark writes enthusiastically about girls' gymnasiums. She thinks the importance of physical education merely from the point of view of cultivating beauty in the feminine figure cannot be overestimated. She describes the evolutions of a typical class of gymnasium girls and announces the downfall of the "helpless sentimental heroine of a former day. The typical society belle is no longer languid, fly-like, and quickly *passée*. She is a robust, strong-limbed girl, who has no idea of fading even when she finds herself surrounded by girls of her own, who will learn to jump bars, swing clubs, and climb ladders, as their mother did before them."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

SIR WALTER BESANT'S forecast of the "Future of the Anglo-Saxon Race," the Hon. R. P. Porter's analysis of Japan's industrial status, Mr. J. W. Russell's account of the Canadian elections, and the Hon. Josiah Quincy's survey of the presidential campaign on the Democratic side are reviewed in another department.

Mr. H. W. Lucy, writing on "The Power of the British Press," calls attention to the extreme individualism of the London journals:

"The power of the press in England might become even dangerously autocratic but for a lack of cohesion. If there existed among newspapers any organization akin to trades unions the British newspapers might rule the roost. Unfortunately (perhaps fortunately), every paper, whether daily or weekly, stands aloof from its contemporaries, or comes in contact with them only for the purposes of a scolding match. The idea in every British newspaper office, small or large, is that the sheet it turns out is, if not literally the only one printed that morning, the only one worthy of notice. This curious delusion is carried to such lengths that, for fear of breaking the spell, no well-regulated morning paper will mention another by name. If temptation to show how foolish or unreliable a neighbor has been prove irresistible, it is loftily alluded to as 'a contemporary.'"

The Hon. George W. Julian recalls the story of "Some Ante-Bellum Politics"—in particular, the rise and growth of the Free Soil party, in which Mr. Julian himself played a prominent part.

"Can the Criminal be Reclaimed?" is the subject of an important paper by Dr. H. S. Williams. The view taken by this writer is that "the criminal differs from his fellows not so much in inherent depraved tendencies as in defective powers of resistance." To what extent are these powers of resistance capable of development? Dr. Williams asserts that ethical development is always possible, and he takes issue with those criminologists who find in heredity a bar to such development. To him it seems far wiser "to regard each individual vicious little John Doe as the victim of undevelopment, and hence to strive to educate him to a better point of view, than to label him 'hereditary criminal' and leave him to the hard fate fortune has originally dealt him."

Mr. George H. Lepper announces what he terms a theory of "natural bimetalism" which, as he unfolds it, develops into a theory of artificial gold monometal-
lism. His principles, as he himself states them, are:

"1. That one standard only is conceivable in thought, or possible in practice.

"2. That the market value must control in the coinage of the companion metal.

"3. That all obligations of the government, present and future, reading in dollars, shall be paid or redeemed, at the option of the government, either in standard gold coin, or in so much silver as shall on the day of redemption be equivalent thereto at the general market rate."

Mr. Grant Allen makes some caustic remarks on "Novels Without a Purpose," which in his opinion belong only to the infancy of humanity. From first to last, says Mr. Allen, the nineteenth century has demanded and has been supplied with more and more "purposive" fiction. As both demand and supply continue to increase, he infers that the literature of the twentieth century will in turn be increasingly "purposive."

"And in being so, it will also be right. It will follow a law of all literary development from the beginning of

all things. A broad survey of the progress of literature from its outset will show us that purpose has ever played a larger and larger part in literary work with each age in each nation."

"A Newport Symposium" is a clever skit on American social life by Mrs. Burton Harrison. Its points cannot be brought out by quotation; it must be read in its entirety.

THE ARENA.

THE articles selected from the August *Arena* for quotation elsewhere are G. S. Crawford's "Club Life versus Home Life" and Annie L. Muzzey's account of Hull House and its aims.

The *Arena* has two articles on the money question, both taking the free-silver position. The first is styled "A Reply to 'A Financial Seer,'" by C. S. Thomas. "A Financial Seer's Views" are given in a fine-print foot-note and are supposed to represent the concentrated wisdom of the advocates of a single gold standard. Mr. Thomas replies to this "Seer" in a twelve-page article, stating the familiar free-silver arguments. There is also an article entitled "The Morning of a New Day," by Mr. George Canning Hill, who regards the campaign for silver as the dawn of liberty.

Mr. J. Kellogg suggests in an article on the convict question that the state should make compensation to the innocent families of convicts while sentence for crime is being served by the head of the household, and in case the condemned man has no family a small sum should be invested for his benefit, so that when his term shall have expired he may have capital for a new start.

In an article entitled "Associated Effort and Human Progress," Dr. M. L. Holbrook makes a strong plea for co-operation in business. He cites the success of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, a federation of all the retail societies of Scotland, 278 in number, with a membership of over 150,000 persons.

Annie E. Cheney explains some of the fine distinctions between the three *yanas*—Nindenyana, Hinayana, and Mahayana—or methods of instruction in Japanese Buddhism, with especial reference to Mahayana.

THE FORUM.

ELSEWHERE we have quoted from Mr. Glead's article on "The West and the East," from Jules Simon's account of his college life, and from the article by the editor of the *Quebec Chronicle* on "The Significance of the Canadian Elections."

Mr. T. S. Van Dyke of Los Angeles, Cal., treats the silver movement in the West as a development of the "bronco" disposition. He says that the "financial bronco" must be approached on the blind side. The trouble heretofore has been that the bronco was "scared" by too many statistics. The East has wasted much anti-silver literature on the West because it did not know the audience. Mr. Van Dyke devotes a large part of his article to a refutation of some of Mr. Harvey's arguments.

Prof. Wm. MacDonald describes "The Next American University." He laments the comparative poverty of our modern university spirit. "The prodigious gains in knowledge and in intense love of acquisition have not been accompanied by equal gains in richness of spirit. University men to-day live in the midst of fierce and relentless competition. They work under

ceaseless pressure. Their primary aim in life is to be learned, to accumulate a vast store of facts, to know all that there is to be known of some one matter. It is a very noble aim, worthy of all commendation and encouragement; but it is not the whole of life. In none of our great universities is the prevailing tone spontaneous, hearty, free. Scarce any young scholar whose reputation is in the making dare in these days 'let himself go.' The same scientific spirit, with its ardor for 'research,' which not many years since pointed the way to truth for all who would look upon it, has come to exercise over the intellectual life a sort of terrorism which has been not unfitly likened to that which in former days was exercised by religious 'orthodoxy;' and under this tyranny of 'science' the life of scholarship has very largely lost the quality of charm. It is not the men of the universities who in our time nourish the life of the spirit."

Mr. W. H. Mallock pays his respects to the whole school of economic altruists represented by Mr. Kidd. The chief point in Mr. Mallock's contention is, "that by endeavoring to erect distress and weakness, as such, into a claim on the systematic help of the state or any other organization, these reformers are going ever farther and farther away from the true and difficult solution of that most complicated of all problems—how to help human distress and weakness, without increasing it where it exists, and at the same time developing it where it does not."

Mr. Edward Cary, writing on "The Matrimonial Market," shows that in these later days it is far easier for the American woman to earn her livelihood without marriage, if she prefers that mode of existence. Not only do the old employments afford generally a better living, but many entirely new employments have developed within the past two decades.

OTHER ARTICLES.

The three political articles in this number are all on the Republican side. Senator Morrill of Vermont writes on "The Free Coinage Epidemic," Senator Cullom of Illinois discusses the "Blunders of a Democratic Administration," and General Horace Porter tells "What the Republican Party Stands For."

Mr. J. B. Bishop estimates the "Social and Economic Influence of the Bicycle," and Mr. Julius H. Ward contributes an appreciative study of Harriet Beecher Stowe.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

MR. MORLEY'S article on "Arbitration with America," and Mr. Wilfrid Ward's "Reminiscences of Professor Huxley," we deal with elsewhere.

THE TRAINING OF A JESUIT.

Father Clarke (S.J.) gives an interesting account of the way in which candidates of the Jesuits are first selected and then trained. He attributes the high reputation which Jesuits enjoy both in the church and out chiefly to three causes. He says:

"The first is the extreme care with which its members are in the first instance chosen, and the process of natural selection which eliminates all who are not suited for its work. The second is the length and thoroughness of its training, both moral and intellectual, and the pains that is taken to adapt it to the special talents and capacities of the individual. The third is the spirit of implicit obedience, of blind obedience, in the sense in

which I have explained it above, which is absolutely indispensable to every one who is to live and die as one of its members."

Writing on the obedience which is exacted from all members of the order, he says:

"It is the habit, the difficult habit of abstaining from any mental criticism of the order given that is the distinctive feature of the obedience of the Society of Jesus. When still a secular, I once encountered an officer in the army who had been for some time in the noviceship, and had left because he found the obedience required too much for him. I took occasion to ask him how it was that he who had been accustomed to the strict discipline and rigorous obedience demanded of a soldier could not endure the gentler rule to which he was subject as a religious. 'In the army,' was his answer, 'you must do what you are told, but you can relieve your feelings by swearing mentally at your colonel, but you cannot do that in the Society of Jesus.'"

LI HUNG CHANG AS A "WORKABLE JOINT."

Mr. A. Michie, formerly *Times* correspondent in China, contributes what may be described as a character sketch of Li Hung Chang, of whom he has a high opinion. He says:

"It has been the unique merit of Li Hung Chang to take a common sense view of things, to meet complaints half way, to receive suggestions with courtesy, and to set an example of conciliatory demeanor toward foreigners; in a word, to form in his own person a workable joint between the petrified ideas of Chinese polity and the requirements of modern Christendom. He has made himself accessible not only to foreign representatives, but to foreigners of every grade who could show a plausible pretext for occupying his time. His toleration of irrelevant visitors has indeed been remarkable, but it was his only means of studying mankind and of learning something about foreign countries, which fate seemed to veto his ever visiting. Though his conversation was sometimes rough, his etiquette was always respectful; and when there was no serious business on hand, he would ply his visitors with Socratic interrogatories which afforded him amusement and gave them a high sense of their own importance."

THE GOD OF THE MATABELE.

Mr. J. M. Orpen, in an article entitled "The God Who Promised Victory to the Matabele," gives an interesting account of his experiences when serving in the country which is now the seat of war. In M'limo, the Matabele god, he says:

"We have to do with a phase of one of the oldest and most widely spread faiths in the world. A bright meteor had shot from west to east across the sky, and a native at once called out: 'There goes Molimo, home to Matojeni.' On inquiring whom Molimo was, he learned that he was the god of the natives of those regions, who inhabited them before the invasion and conquests of the Swazi and Matabele. Matojeni, where the oracle of Molimo is heard, is situated about twenty-five miles southeast of Buluwayo, and consists of a cavern in rock, like so many of the ancient oracles."

THE REAL DIFFICULTY IN RHODESIA.

The Hon. J. Scott Montagu, M.P., in a paper entitled "Nature versus The Chartered Company," brings out in clear relief the serious nature of the task which is now confronting England in Rhodesia:

"We thus have, so to speak a garrison of 4,000 white persons in Buluwayo and Rhodesia, let alone the black

allies, to whom food can only now be conveyed by mule or donkey wagon. The weight usually carried by mule or donkey wagon is also from 25 to 30 per cent. less than that taken by ox wagon. A span of sixteen oxen can reach Buluwayo from Mafeking with from seven to eight thousand pounds weight of food stuffs, whereas by mule or donkey wagon seldom more than five thousand pounds weight is taken with eighteen donkeys or ten to twelve mules. 'Rinderpest' in this way has been, and will be for some time, a greater enemy to the progress of Rhodesia than the native rebellion."

As from 90 to 95 per cent. of the oxen have died out the difficulty of getting food up to Rhodesia is very great:

"Artisans who were earning £1 a day have now no work, the constructive trades having ceased, and these men are naturally leaving the country. When I was in Buluwayo in May of this year eggs were 40s. or 50s. a dozen, tins of condensed milk were sold for 7s. 6d. each—strong buyers as the Stock Exchange would say—and enough bread for breakfast for one cost a shilling."

Mr. Montagu has strong faith in Mr. Rhodes, whom he thinks will pull things through yet. He says:

"His personality is worth more for the moment, in this crisis in Rhodesia, than the agricultural or mineral wealth of the whole country. Rhodesia might to-day be well called 'Rhodes, Unlimited.'"

THE DECLINE OF COBDENISM.

Mr. Sidney Low is inspired to gloat a little over the failure of free trade to make the tour of the world. Mr. Low says:

"It is possible that if Cobden were alive to-day, and face to face with the conditions of latter day industrialism and international competition, he might be a Cobdenite no longer. It is certain that so acute an explorer of the currents of public opinion would have perceived that such projects as that of an Imperial Customs Union would have to be dealt with on their merits, political and social, as well as financial. And he would have understood that they could not be disposed of by being called 'veiled protectionism,' or by an appeal to an economic pontificate that had lost its sanctity."

WORK FOR WOMEN.

Ouida contributes a characteristic article upon "The Quality of Mercy" which is a vigorous and eloquent plea for treating animals with greater kindness. In the course of the article she makes an appeal which is well worth notice:

"There are two periods in the life of a woman when she is almost omnipotent for good or ill. These are when men are in love with her, and when her children are young enough to be left entirely to her and to those whom she selects to control them. How many women in ten thousand use this unlimited power which they then possess to breathe the quality of mercy into the souls of those who for the time are as wax in their hands? They will crowd into the Speaker's box to applaud debates which concern them in no way. They will impudently force their second hand opinions on Jack and Jill in the village or in the city alleys. They will go on to platforms and sing comic songs, or repeat temperance platitudes, and think they are a great moral force in the improvement of the masses. This they will do, because it amuses them and makes them of importance. But alter their own lives, abandon their own favorite cruelties, risk the sneer of society, or lead their little children to the love of nature and the tenderness

of pity, these they will never do. Mercy is not in them, nor humility, nor sympathy."

A REAL MAHATMA.

Prof. Max Müller declares that the late Rāmākrishna Paramahansa, an eminent religious teacher, a real Mahatma, died in 1886. The professor gives a very striking illustration of the way in which he idealized and purified everything with which he had to do:

"Nothing, I believe, is so hideous as the popular worship of Kali in India. To Rāmākrishna all that is repulsive in her character is, as it were, non-existent, and there remains but the motherhood of the goddess. Her adoration with him is a childlike, whole-souled, rapturous self consecration to the motherhood of God, as represented by the power and influence of woman. Woman in her natural material character had long been renounced by the saint. He had a wife, but never associated with her. 'Woman,' he said, 'fascinates and keeps the world from the love of God.' For long years he made the utmost efforts to be delivered from the influence of woman. His heart rending supplications and prayers for such deliverance, sometimes uttered aloud in his retreat on the river side, brought crowds of people, who bitterly cried when he cried, and could not help blessing him and wishing him success with their whole hearts. And he succeeded, so that his mother to whom he prayed, that is the goddess Kali, made him recognize every woman as her incarnation, and honor each member of the other sex, whether young or old, as his mother."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Prince Krapotkin writes on "Recent Science" dealing with life in the moon. He thinks that organic life exists on that planet, although on a very small scale. Traces of vegetation have been detected, but beyond that we can hardly go. Prof. Courthope has a paper on "Life in Poetry," and the Chief Justice of the Orange Free State contributes a vigorous letter in reply to Mr. Edward Dicey, asserting that "South Africa Can Wait." The Chief Justice is certainly not lacking in vigor of language. He tells Mr. Dicey that if he be not the devil's advocate, he has certainly been doing the devil's work.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for August is a good number. We quote elsewhere the articles on Sir John Seeley, and "The Human Animal in Battle."

THE FUTURE OF CHINA.

A writer signing himself "L." discusses the future of British policy in China. He is quite hopeless of effecting any improvement in China from within. Only by force from without can any change for the better be made. He scouts the idea of combining with Russia. He says:

"If the aims of Russia are confined to securing for herself, by arrangement with the imperial government, an open port and a commercial terminus in the north of China, it is difficult to see what objections England could raise; but the appropriation of a large slice of territory by a power like Russia, whose ability in reducing to subjection and administering Eastern countries is second only to our own, would be a very different matter."

THE RUIN OF OLD VIRGINIA.

Mr. A. G. Bradley, in an article entitled "On an Old American Turnpike," describes the devastation which has

been wrought in one of the most famous historical districts by the economic changes which followed the war. Part of Virginia is prosperous enough, but the other part is relapsing into a desert. Mr. Bradley says :

"It is this old Virginia, this famous cradle of the English race beyond the sea, that now lies, to so great an extent, an almost hopeless desert, or what, compared to any other agricultural country in the civilized world, is practically a desert—and it is likely to remain so. It is difficult to conceive for those who really know it, any combination of circumstances that can, within measurable time, arrest the decay of a large portion of Virginia east of the Piedmont counties—a region, roughly speaking, half the size of England, and once pre-eminently the England of the New World, where the manners and customs, the sports, and even the prejudices of the mother country were reproduced with a fidelity that in colonial days was almost pathetic, and the traces of which are even yet not wholly extinct."

THE PHILOSOPHY OF M. ZOLA.

Mr. R. E. S. Hart, writing on Zola's "Philosophy of Life," points out that the French novelist is more than a mere materialist, and that when confronted with the phenomena of life he has at any rate one great merit :

"M. Zola has earned the gratitude of mankind, as he has insisted on the enormous complexity of the problem, and has resisted that impulse to accept the first forced unification which presents itself. Our religion and our morality, this great dissector tells us, are also for the most part but the effects of habit and circumstances ; and our good deeds, like our bad ones, mainly impulses of the moment, the mere 'benevolence' of Butler. Let us, then, take our stand upon the actual facts of life, and see how we may remedy them. And this attitude has yet another advantage, as the view of the broad basis on which life is founded makes us turn once more to Mother Nature, and recognize the truth that in her, too, as in man, is a revelation of the divine. M. Zola's breadth of view revolts against the practical dualism of popular Catholicism, and the false ascetism to which such a dualism gives rise. Self-sacrifice he recognizes as but a moment in the process, not the sole truth, and as leading but to a higher self realization."

"The flesh is not to be killed and mortified, but made the servant and agent of the spirit. Nor are we to look with futile longing for an *au delà* of which we can say nothing but that it exists, but rather see our *au delà* or God in the practical business and work of the present."

GLACIERS AS GORGE MAKERS.

Prof. A. R. Wallace, writing on "The Gorge of the Aar and Its Teachings," says "that the singular phenomenon of a great valley barred across by a precipitous rocky ridge, which is pierced only by a narrow water worn gorge, admittedly sawn down by the *débris* laden water of the sub-glacial torrent, does afford a most striking additional proof of the power of the old glaciers to grind out rock basins. The only escape from this conclusion is to call in the aid of hypothetical local subsidences or elevations of which no direct evidence has yet been found."

TORCH-LIGHT PROCESSIONS AND POLITICS.

Mr. Francis H. Hardy writes an article full of information lucidly conveyed on "The Making of a President." Incidentally he mentions that in a political campaign speakers are sometimes paid as much as \$500 for a single speech, while as much as \$50,000 are spent in organizing

a single meeting. The most popular form of presidential electioneering which he describes appears to be the torchlight procession club.

"The cavalry club, to which I once belonged, mustered never less than three hundred horse, and we had a fine band of twenty pieces. Each man wore a uniform consisting of peaked cap, long cape, and top boots, carrying his torch as a lance. The cap and cape were made of yellow oil cloth, which at night under the torchlight took the color of gold. This cape was not only effective from a spectacular point of view, but it protected us from the oil which dripped from the torch, and also from the rain in stormy times. Frequently we would ride twenty miles across the country to some small village or town, to take part in a local demonstration. Our arrival in such a place was often the great event of the year. We were first banquetted in right royal fashion. Then we gave the crowd, what they always called a great treat, by going through our drill in some big field. The movement which the crowd liked best was the 'charge in line,' horses at full gallop, our torches trailing ribbons of flame, and making queer effects in light and shadow. The central or 'tactical' idea of this spectacular move was to rouse the dull, easy going folk, and tempt them out of comfortable houses. Once at the meeting, our public speakers were trusted to win over the wavering, and strengthen the weak kneed brethren of our own party."

THE CRIME OF EXTINGUISHING THE SPECIES.

In Olive Schreiner's new installment of her "Stray Thoughts on South Africa," which is chiefly devoted to the domestic life of the Boers, she apologizes for the way in which they exterminated the Bushmen by saying that :

"We of culture and refinement, who are under no pressure of life and death, do nothing to preserve the scant relics of the race !"

The following observations, especially that in which the noble sport of fox hunting is described as the murdering of a few miserable jackals, is very characteristic :

"The last of the Bushmen are now passing away from us, with those infinitely beautiful and curious creatures, which made for ages the South African plain the richest on earth, in that rarest and most delightful of all beauties, the beauty of complex and varied forms of life ; and over which the humanity of future ages may weep, but which they will never be able to restore, to vary and glorify the globe, nor to throw light on the mystery of sentient growth. We, as civilized men, must recognize that the extinction of a species of beast, and, yet more, of a species of man, is an order of Vandalism compared with which the destruction of Greek marbles by barbarians or of classical manuscripts by the Christians were trifles ; for it is within the range of a remote possibility that again among mankind some race may arise which shall produce such statues as those of Phidias or that the human brain might yet again blossom forth into the wisdom and beauty incarnate in the burnt books ; but a race of living things once destroyed is gone forever—it reappears on earth no more. We are conscious that we are murdering the heritage of unborn generations ; yet we take no step to stay the destruction. The money which one fashionable woman spends on dresses from Worth's, the jewels and cut flowers one woman purchases, would save a race. Lands might be obtained, and such conditions be instituted that an expiring race might survive. And the money and labor expended on the murder and maintenance of a few miserable jackals,

in a land and among a people who say they have emerged from barbarism, would send down to future ages all the incalculable living wealth of South Africa."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for August opens with an article on "Mr. Balfour and His Critics," which does not prepare one for an elaborate dissertation concerning the philosophical significance of his "Foundations of Belief." Mr. Balfour's critics have not been philosophers but politicians. The article on the Orange Society is interesting, and so is Mr. Richard Heath's on "Living in Community." But otherwise the *Review* is hardly up to its usual level.

THE HOPE FOR HOME RULE.

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., writes an interesting article concerning Home Rule and the Irish Party. Although discomfited, this Home Ruler is not cast down. He says:

"I firmly believe that at this moment there are some forces working for Home Rule which are silently bringing it to the front again, and are making its ultimate success not only possible but not very remote. First among these forces I would put the utter breakdown of business in the House of Commons. A second unseen force working in favor of Home Rule is the breakdown of the land system in the North of Ireland. Even yet, people in this country have not begun to realize the depth and intensity of feeling on this question in the North of Ireland."

The third reason for refusing to despair is the most interesting of all. Mr. O'Connor now recognizes that it is in growth of the Imperial idea that the best hope lies for the concession of Home Rule for Ireland. In other words, Home Rule will come not by way of Little England, but by the way of those who believe most in the necessity for expanding and developing the Empire:

"The spirit of resistance and rivalry to British expansion in other countries make the idea of Imperial greatness and expansion far more attractive and popular than it was at one time. A contented and self-governed Ireland is the true point of departure for a great, a solid and a united Empire."

Mr. O'Connor points out that Greater Britain is almost a unit for Home Rule. Every colony is run on Home Rule lines, and in every colony the Irish are influential.

AN EXPERIMENT IN COMMUNITY LIVING.

Mr. Richard Heath calls attention to an almost forgotten chapter in the history of experimental community life. In the sixteenth century the Moravian Anabaptists under one Hunter started a series of co-operative communities which seem to have achieved a great success:

"And the Moravian Anabaptists lived in unity. Professor Loserth gives the names of eighty-six different places in which, during some time between 1526 and 1536, common households existed. Some of these households consisted of 500, 600, 1,000 and even 2,000 persons, a condition of things which shows on how great a scale the experiment was tried. Of the great success of these communities in a material sense there cannot be a shadow of doubt.

"Notwithstanding the prejudices against them, they prospered in all their various works and during the third quarter of the sixteenth century were growing wealthy.

Toward the end of that period they possessed in Moravia seventy stately courts and houses."

Unfortunately self-interest crept in, and the jealousy without and the spirit of persecution which raged in high quarters completed their overthrow.

CO-OPERATIVE LABOR UNIONS IN ITALY.

Mr. H. W. Wolff, in an article styled "The Autonomy of Labor," describes how Italian workmen in the building trade and the lowest kind of unskilled laborers have formed unions which undertake contracts and deal directly with their employers without the intervention of the middlemen. Mr. Wolff's article is encouraging and adds one more to the many examples which he has brought from abroad for our imitation at home. He says:

"Altogether the Italian workmen's societies have undoubtedly good results to show. Indeed, amid a mass of need and trouble and distress with which statesmen find it difficult to grapple, this movement of combination among workmen forms one of the few bright spots which encourage one to hope for better things."

VACCINATING LAND.

This is a very absurd title, but it conveys the idea that Mr. Aikman describes in his article on Nitragin, which he regards as the latest and most hopeful advance in agriculture. It is the application of the principle of inoculation to land. He says:

"Research has demonstrated that the soil of our fields is literally teeming with bacteria, which according to some recent experiments, may be present to the extent of forty-five millions per gramme (the 1-28th part of an ounce) of soil; and that these bacteria are largely instrumental in conducting to the successful growth of vegetation, by preparing, in forms suitable for assimilation by the plant, the different food substances it derives from the soil. The latest application, in the domain of agriculture, of the great principle of inoculation, is in many respects of a more striking nature than anything yet accomplished by this line of research, and consists of the inoculation of the soil with pure cultures of bacteria for the purpose of promoting plant growth.

"Inoculation of a soil with these cultures, on a practical scale, may be effected in either of two ways. First, the seed of the crop it is desired to inoculate may be inoculated before it is sown. This is effected by making a watery solution of the pure cultivation, immersing the seed in it, and subsequently drying it; or secondly, it may be effected by inoculating a quantity of fine sand or earth, in the same way, and then spreading it over the field and subsequently working it into the soil to a depth of about three inches. Naturally, a point of considerable interest is the economic question of the cost of such treatment. It is interesting to learn that this is extremely moderate, as the expense of inoculating a field in this way amounts to the very moderate sum of 5 shillings per acre. This cannot be regarded as expensive, and contrasts favorably with the expense of nitrogenous fertilizers."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Andrew Lang discourses on "Passing Through the Fire," in which he suggests the possibility that in Moloch worship, which prevailed in ancient Canaan, in which people passed through the fire, they were not actually burned alive, but passed through the fire unscathed. He publishes a mass of matter compiled from various sources showing that in Fiji and Bulgaria and many other countries the practice of passing through

fire and the gift of doing it without getting burned exists even down to the present day. Mr. Lang refers to the fact that Mr. Home and other mediums have been able to handle live coals with impunity. Mr. J. H. Cooke describes the "Book of the Dead," and Mr. H. R. Haws contributes a musical article entitled "Musical Snapshots." Mr. A. Taylor Innes has a Browningsque article describing his visit to La Saisiaz in 1895.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE new number of the *Quarterly* is quite up to the highest water-mark of the periodical literature of the English-speaking race. The *Quarterly* is admirable. Its contents are varied, its subjects well chosen, and the reviewers have turned out as well-written matter as can be found in the literature of the year.

SIR EDWARD HAMLEY.

The first place is given to an article upon that ill starred, but greatly gifted officer who had almost every talent except that of keeping a smooth tongue in his head and of getting on with men above him and below him. Fortunately, the reviewer spares us any lengthy dissertation concerning Hamley's grievances at Tel-el-Kebir, and we have a very charming, highly complimentary essay upon one of the most versatile soldiers of modern times. Most of the article is devoted to an appreciative criticism of Hamley as a man of letters. The reviewer says:

"It is perhaps too soon to attempt an estimate of Hamley's genius, and the task is beset with difficulties. The astonishing versatility of the writer who could produce 'The Operations of War' and 'Shakespeare's Funeral,' the 'Life of Voltaire' and the 'Treatise on Outposts,' the review of 'Lothair' and 'Our Poor Relations,' baffles the critic. We cannot regard him as the most accomplished soldier of his day without remembering his achievements in realms of thought where military science does not enter. We may not claim for him a rare distinction in the department of pure literature without recalling the grave disabilities imposed by his profession. If opportunities had been granted, the qualities displayed in the Crimea, in three foreign missions, and at Tel-el-Kebir, linked to a profound knowledge of the art of war, would doubtless have raised him to a high rank among military commanders. And if literature had been the main object instead of the recreation of his life he would unquestionably have left a deeper mark on the century. Failing the opportunities which have been freely provided for infinitely less capable soldiers, Hamley will be best remembered as the most brilliant military writer that this country has yet produced, and as a teacher who set before the British army a new standard of attainment. The student of the future who, discriminating between the shadow and the substance, attempts to trace the source of the great advance of military science in this country during the latter part of the nineteenth century, will be led back by sure steps to the 'Operations of War.'"

CLAUDIAN.

The article on this poet is chiefly composed of an elaborate description of his poems, which the reviewer estimates somewhat highly. He concludes his article as follows:

"Like Cowley and the metaphysical school, Claudian rather gratifies our intellect than our heart; he pleases our imagination without interesting our sympathies.

Like a winter sun, he illumines but seldom warms. Yet Claudian is a striking figure in Latin literature. Mr. Mackai, in a work—and we use the words deliberately—of genius, has well described the position of the 'post-humous child of the classical world,' standing at the parting of the ways in the dying light of Paganism. The two contemporaries, Prudentius, the first Christian poet, and Claudian, the last of the classics, are 'like the figures which were fabled to stand, regarding the rising and setting sun by the Atlantic gates where the Mediterranean opened into the unknown Western seas.'"

NEW METHODS OF HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

This article is devoted to a review of Mr. Round's work as a founder of the school of history. The shortcomings of English universities considered as historical schools are contrasted with the superior equipment at the service of Continental historians. In short, in the domain of history, as in that of war and manufactures, we have got to learn a good many lessons from our German neighbors. The reviewer says:

"Before we can safely advance we must be sure of our ground, and in some directions we must even retrace our steps. We must begin by recognizing that history is a science, and not the handmaid of politics, or of literature, or of art. We must enlist in the service of the new history a whole army of auxiliary sciences, which may be conveniently mustered under the banner of Archaeology. We must have more texts and better texts to work from, and we must learn their use. We must resolutely discard the useless editions of our national records prepared by the well-meaning official antiquaries of the first half of the present century. We believe that this is the real lesson which Mr. Round has intended to impress upon us in the unpleasing form of 'terrible examples.' At the same time we must admit that he has not only justified his criticisms, but that he has shown us by the personal example of sixteen years of patient labor how the work ought really to be done."

THE FRENCH IN MADAGASCAR.

This article gives a concise and lucid account of the French campaign that ended in the conquest of an island, which, as an accompanying little map shows, is larger than the whole of France. The conquest cost France heavily in human life:

"The number of Europeans who died from the effects of the campaign during and since the war amounted to 4,189. Of Europeans and non-Europeans 4,600 bodies were left in Madagascar, 554 were buried at sea, while the grand total gives the figures 5,592 as the expenditure of life during the war. Over one-quarter of the 24,000 men who embarked on this expedition were thus lost to France, while the health of at least double that portion has been irretrievably ruined."

The reviewer is evidently of opinion that although France has purchased the island with the blood of her children, she is not in a position to reap the chief advantage of her conquest. He says:

"While *bona-fide* French colonists are conspicuous by their absence, an army of outside adventurers is already invading the different ports along the extensive coast line of the great island. Prospecting miners from the Cape, Australia and America, Banians, Parsees from Bombay, Arabs, Comoro Islanders, Zanzibarites—all greedy for gain and wholly regardless of native rights—are crowding in, clamoring for concessions in the auriferous and forest regions."

NATURAL AND REVEALED RELIGION.

The reviewer of the Duke of Argyll's recent book, "The Philosophy of Belief," speaks very confidently as to the place which Christianity occupies as reconciling the God of our religious consciousness with the God of the universe. He says:

"Too often Christianity has been treated as a faith apart from nature. Our belief is, that the teaching of Christ expressed the law of human life as it was from eternity. It was no new commandment, no novel faith. What He came to give was not a new invention, but a new discovery. It was a revelation, because men had not perceived it before; but it was a revelation of what was as old as gravity and as the everlasting mountains. The law of Sacrifice which Christ proclaimed was not then first set forth. The law existed from the beginning; the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world. In Christianity we are going back to the everlasting sources of being, and we are also going forward to the perfecting of all things. Christ accepted the order of Nature; He would not by escaping it tempt God. He realized the law of progress. He did not expect men to understand all things at once. 'Ye cannot bar them now.' He taught the law of the survival of the fittest. He taught no less the law of self-sacrifice. He that loseth his life shall find it. But, unlike some among ourselves, He found this law of sacrifice in the universe."

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI.

The genius of Rossetti receives no stinted recognition in this article. Alike as a painter and as a poet, the reviewer is full of admiration. He admits, however, that "to our eye the lips, the throats, the fingers of Rossetti's beauties have something in them which is not quite human, but is like the flesh of sirens, houris, or Lamiae, those magical beings who capture the passions of men, but not their hearts."

Notwithstanding this defect, he declares that "in painting flesh and hair and drapery, in combining brilliancy of color like that of Memling with depth and graduation like that of Leonardo, no English painter ever excelled him."

As a poet he is equally supreme:

"With the exception of Shakespeare's and Wordsworth's, no cycle of English sonnets has aimed so high, and so truly hit the mark as his. But in the region which he chose for his own, a region of romantic sentiment and delicate thought and imagery, no English poet has surpassed him."

"He will not have his place at the side of the greatest, Keats, Browning, Reynolds, Turner; but he will always remain one of the most interesting and perplexing of English poets and painters; 'honored' (as his epitaph reads) 'among painters as a painter, and among poets as a poet,' and in his double genius unique in the history of art."

Speaking of his religious faith, the reviewer refers to the fact that Rossetti, like almost all great poets, was a Borderlander:

"To many it appeared that Rossetti had no religion. He professed no form of religion, and conformed to none. But he called himself a Christian, and he had a strong belief in an immortality. His works, he said, showed that he was a Christian; and he believed himself to have had intercourse with the spirits of the dead, both by direct visions and through 'spiritualistic' divinations."

DEMOCRATIC FINANCE.

Mr. Lecky's ponderous volumes are taken as a text by the reviewer to parade the statistics which go to show

that democracy leads headlong to bankruptcy. In England, however, he rejoices to believe that a halt has been called in the headlong march to the abyss:

"The general election of 1895 marks a further step in the disillusionment of the nation with regard to popular government. Essentially, the result has been due to the revolt of the ratepayer. The revolt has long been expected, but we believe it has come at last."

He makes an astonishing statement that the amount of money collected by rates and taxes for all purposes in France amounts to a quarter the entire income of the people. England is not as bad as that, but she is getting on, as the following figures show, which he quotes from the returns of the Local Government Board of the local expenditure of England and Wales between the years 1867-68 and 1891-92:

	1867-8.	1891-2.	Increase
Rateable value.....millions.....	100%	155 ⁷ / ₁₆	55.2
Receipts of all kinds (including new loans).....	30%	64	109.8
Receipts of all kinds (excluding new loans).....	25	53%	115.0
Expenditure of all kinds (including loan expenditure).....	30%	64%	110.6
Loans outstanding at end of year.	60	208	247.3

EDWARD FITZGERALD AS A LETTER WRITER.

Taking as his text the three volumes of Edward Fitzgerald's letters and literary remains, we have a sketch of one of these notable Englishmen of whom few knew anything until after his death. Speaking of Fitzgerald as a letter writer, the reviewer says:

"Good as Fitzgerald's letters are, he will not, we think, quite take equal rank with our three or four classical English letter writers. To be a classic of any kind, style is needed—style not only of occasional perfection, such as is to be found in these letters, but assured, sustained, unflinching, such as Gray and Lamb knew how to use in their letters—such, above all, as Cowper, without ceasing for one moment to be natural and simple, had always at command. After all, the chief interest of letters lies in the personality they reveal; and to many tastes that of Fitzgerald, racier and richer than Cowper, easier than Gray, larger than Lamb, will prove a rare, or even a unique attraction. No one, at any rate, can altogether miss his charm—so cheerful as he is and so kindly, so absolutely healthy and human and genuine!"

THE GENESIS OF DANTE'S BEATRICE.

In an article entitled "Dante's 'Vita Nuova,'" the reviewer argues strenuously for the theory that the original idea of Beatrice was that of the Church of Christ, which was described as the sleeping figure in the original sonnet. The reviewer believes that the "Vita Nuova" is an allegorical story of the conflict of faith and science, and that in this conflict lies its inner and veritable meaning:

"It is no part of our contention to diminish the human reality of Beatrice; but what we do contend for is this: that in the 'Vita Nuova' she is second and not first; that she has been brought in and added for artistic reasons; that her personality has been woven into the texture of the 'Vita Nuova' and of the 'Commedia,' but that she is not their spring and source; that, on the contrary, the spring and source are in that spiritual idea whereof Beatrice is the symbol and figured embodiment. Whether she was or was not a real person; and if so, whether she was a woman whom he loved, or whether she was to him only some bright, peculiar star; or thirdly, whether she did but furnish a name to him—in

all cases alike, it appears that she was added for poetical imagery after the 'Commedia' had been outlined in the poet's mind.

"In favor of the interpretation which we here submit to the reader, we may urge that it is better evidenced than any other, that it removes more difficulties than any other, and that it supplies a more consistent plan and a continuous development from 'Incipit Vita Nova' down to the last canto of the 'Paradiso.'"

The other articles on "The Citizenship of the British Nobility," and "Democratic Finance" are dealt with elsewhere.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THERE are ten articles in the July number of the *Edinburgh Review*, all of which are readable, but none of which, not even excepting that upon Egypt, call for very extended notice.

CATHOLIC REACTION OF OUR TIMES.

The first article is devoted to a survey of the Catholic movement in the century of our times. It is based upon Mr. Purcell's "Life of Cardinal Manning" and Mr. Ward's book on "William George Ward and the Catholic Revival." The first part is devoted to a sketch of the Catholic movement in France, and then, passing through Germany, comes to England. The reviewer recalls the fact that Puseyism received its name owing to the dislike of Pusey to be associated with the men afterward known as Puseyites. Newman asked him to write a tract, which he refused to do, saying, "No, no; I do not want to be one of you." It was therefore published with Pusey's initials, in order to disavow him from the responsibility of the other tracts. The *Record*, noticing the initials, violently attacked Pusey, and so connected his name with the whole movement. The reviewer is genial and kindly in his references to Cardinal Manning, but he maintains that the real work of the Oxford movement was done within the Church of England. If the movement of 1833 did nothing else, it rescued the country districts of England from the ghastly dreariness of the world in which Miss Austin lived and which she described. The Catholic reaction has been an utter failure in so far as it was directed toward bringing back under the sway of authority any portion of the territory that had been conquered by human reason:

"History and science have entirely emancipated themselves. On the other hand, in so far as its efforts have been directed to conserve or to revive all that was good in the past, a high standard of conduct, a devotion to noble and unselfish ends, a keen appreciation of art, of poetry, of gentleness and beauty of life, it has been, and is destined to be, an ever increasing success."

THE NEW SCOTCH NOVELISTS.

The reviewer hails the revival of the rural Scotch novel as the welcome sign of healthy reaction. He selects for notice Mr. Barrie, Mr. Crockett, Ian Maclaren, and Jane Helen Findlater, whose book "The Green Graves of Balgowrie" is said to show evidence of remarkable promise. Mr. Barrie's books are referred to as exquisitely humorous. The advent of Mr. Barrie is compared to one of the revivals which stir souls from time to time alike in the Highlands and the Lowlands. He is at his best when his foot is upon the cobbly pavement of Thrums, and when confining himself within the actualities of his own experience. Of Mr. Crockett the reviewer says he is best in "The Raiders" and his

"Stickit Minister;" but his other books are more or less disappointing, especially "Cleg Kelly." Of Ian Maclaren he says:

"The author has all the intelligent sympathies of Mr. Barrie, and he is more searching in subtle mental analysis, as perhaps he excels Mr. Crockett in striking and sensational, yet lifelike portraiture. 'The Bonnie Briar Bush' is a sparkling book, though the weeping climate and the sombre scenery throw heavy shadows on the personalities of the struggling community."

SHERIDAN.

This article is a review of Mr. Fraser Rae's biography. The reviewer sums up his own estimate of Sheridan as follows:

"Sheridan's was a brilliant career, but it is a mistake to rank him among the greatest of English statesmen. Among the very first of our dramatists, our orators, and our wits he will always stand. And when we are considering his character, it should not be forgotten that his plays, so remarkable for brilliant cleverness and wit, are marked by a healthy, manly morality, very unlike the coarseness of preceding and the moral prurience of later days. The chivalry of his disposition is proved by his earnest support, in the days of their greatest poverty, of his wife's unwillingness to perform professionally, though her doing so would have enabled them to live in comfort. His political career showed that he possessed great and generous qualities. Sheridan was a great deal more than a reckless adventurer on the political stage, and we rejoice that at last to the nobler side of a great man ample justice has been done."

VICTOR EMMANUEL'S GREAT-GRANDMOTHER.

The Countess Françoise Krasinska seems to have been a very lively young lady, beautiful and romantic. Her beauty and her romantic disposition landed her into a secret marriage with the Duke of Courland, who expected to succeed to the throne of Napoleon. Only when his chances of the crown were gone did he avow his marriage:

"This book, therefore, has a double value. It is, first, a 'human document,' delineating with extraordinary frankness the vanity, the ambition, the passion, but also the unselfishness and tenderness that go to make up the remarkable character of the young writer. Secondly, it is a picture, Holbeinesque in its fidelity, of the feudal state in which a great Polish nobleman lived in the last century, when elsewhere such conditions of life had long since become impossible."

THE GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE SINCE 1870.

This is a painstaking article written by a man who believes that the parliamentary systems have been a complete failure beyond all hope of remedy, and that the state has only to be saved from anarchy by a strong machinery of centralized government, which survives revolutions and dynasties. The nation is peaceable, industrious and indifferent to politics; but it has an army which is one of the most gigantic forces the world has ever seen. Education is spreading both among men and women. In 1878 70 per cent. of the women when married could not sign their names on the register; fourteen years later only 12 per cent. were in that condition. After all that has been done in secularizing education the number of children in Catholic schools, public and private, has only fallen off by 200,000. It was 1,800,000 in 1878, and 1,600,000 in 1893. The writer also points out that many of the so-called "laic" schools are quite as much under religious influences as the Catholic schools,

especially among the girls' schools, for some of the lay schoolmistresses are extremely devout, and anxious to stand well with the priests.

OTHER ARTICLES.

The article on "The Universities of the Middle Ages" is chiefly devoted to a highly appreciative review of Mr. Rashdall's History, which contains an amount of information afforded by no other writer on the subject. The article on "The Paget Papers" is necessarily historical; but at its close the writer takes occasion to glance briefly at the present grouping of the Powers in the East. The article on "History and the National Portrait Gallery" is brightly written, full of odd observations, such as the fact that the only crop-haired roundheads in the collection are Archbishop Ussher and Archbishop Laud. All the puritan leaders of note wore their hair long. Another interesting observation is as to the way in which Judge Jeffreys' portrait contradicts the character which he bears in history.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE *National Review* is a good number, interesting and varied. There is fiction in the shape of a charming ghost story; a good professional article on "Contributors," by the Editor; a paper on "The Unpopularity of the House of Commons," by Mr. T. Mackay; and a somewhat commonplace article on Mr. Chamberlain by Mr. Skottowe.

MR. GEORGE MEREDITH'S TRIBUTE TO MRS. MEYNELL.

Mr. George Meredith so seldom appears as a contributor to periodical literature that special mention should be made of his very appreciative review of Mrs. Meynell's essays, which have been reprinted from the *Pall Mall Gazette*. After criticising and praising each of her essays in turn, he admits the difficulty of selecting epithets to describe her gifts:

"A woman who thinks and who can write, who does not disdain the school of journalism, and who brings novelty and poetic beauty, the devout but open mind, to her practice of it, bears promise that she will some day rank as one of the great Englishwomen of letters, at present counting humbly by computation beside their glorious French sisters in the art. The power she has, and the charm it is clothed in shall then, be classed as distinction—the quality Matthew Arnold anxiously scanned the flats of the earth to discover. It will serve as well as the more splendidly flashing and commoner term to specify her claim upon public attention. She has this distinction: the seizure of her theme, a fine dialectic, a pliable step, the feminine of strong good sense—equal, only sweeter—and reflectiveness, humanness, fervency of spirit."

THE SECRET OF CATHOLICISM.

The Rev. Canon Barry writes what reads like an eloquent sermon, taking Zola's book as his text. Protestantism, he maintains, is played out:

"Not preaching but sacrifice; not the meeting but the altar; not that which I can do for myself, but the power which flows out from an ordinance upon me; such is the charm, the grace of this undoubtedly historical faith. And preaching has grown wearisome, ineffective, or at least dangerous to belief, where the liturgy did not inspire and bear it up on heavenly wings. The secret of Catholicism is the supernatural in the world and rising beyond it, immanent that it may civilize, transcendent that it may redeem. Every Church calling itself Christian which has done, or is doing, a

work among men capable of resisting the fire, will be seen on close view, to have kept from the wreck of Christendom some one or other principle, whereby a living authority applies to circumstances what else had been a phantom of the truth. But historians, candidly marking the various phenomena, will, if I may trust my own reading, allow that Rome has excelled in meeting the demands of so many-sided a mission."

THE SILVER QUESTION.

The *National Review* is the only important periodical in England which has leanings toward bimetalism. It publishes the address which Professor Francis A. Walker delivered to the British Bimetallic League in the City of London, which we review elsewhere.

THE NEW REVIEW.

MR. ARTHUR MORRISON gives us one of his painful studies of mean streets, entitled "A Child of the Jago." Mr. James Annand discourses on "The Intolerable Waste of Parliament," without, however, proposing any short cut to the remedying of the same. Mr. Parker revises the reporting of the interview between Li Hung Chang and Count Ito, which was printed in the *Far East* at the close of the war. We notice elsewhere the articles upon the Cuban question and Judge Jeffreys. Mr. Ian Malcolm, M.P., contributes some notes of his made in Moscow at the time of the coronation. David Hannay writes an interesting article on "Brantôme." He is best known by his book, "Les Dames Galantes," which has been through thirty editions:

"If any man wishes to sit down and have his talk out with an observant old gentleman who knew Catherine de Medici, and had cause to complain of the ingratitude of Henri III.; who marched sword in hand to see Bussy d'Amboise safe out of reach of his would-be assassins; who sailed with the Grand Prieur to Scotland, escorting Mary Queen of Scots, and to Malta to drive away the Turk (but the unbeliever, unfortunately, was gone before these sixteenth century crusades arrived); who was near at hand when the great Duke of Guise fell by the pistol of Poltrot de Méré; who, in fine, heard, saw and recorded innumerable manifestations of human nature at a time when it displayed its very foundations in defiant freedom, let him open Brantôme *passim* and fall to. He will not be disappointed."

Dr. George M. Carfrae, writing on "The Drift of Modern Medicine," claims:

"1, That in our day medicine has made great advances; 2, that this advance is due to the discovery of specific remedies in particular diseases; and 3, that the number of these will be increased in proportion as we carry out to its ultimatum the rule '*Similia similibus curantur*.'"

THE INVESTORS' REVIEW.

MR. A. J. WILSON is in great form in the August number. We notice elsewhere his remarks on what he calls the Chicago revolutionary convention. But to see Mr. Wilson at his best—that is, to watch him expounding the law which in his eyes governs the whole world—namely, that everything, cheap money, or dear money, leads but to the goal of bankruptcy and general smash—we must read his article on "The Relation of Cheap Money to High Prices." After expounding exactly how it works, he finishes with the usual prophecy of coming crash:

"We have now reached, by the ways described, a very extreme condition of inflation, and yet nobody can predict when the balloons will begin to burst. On the surface all great centres of banking credit are tolerably strong, and our own seems to be exceptionally so. This country never saw such a stock of gold as the bank possesses, and it is a stock being continually added to. Is it likely to be enough in all circumstances? We shall see. That some such end must come to the inflation, now so enormous on all European stock exchanges, is as certain as the succession of months and years, and the longer the reverse is postponed the more widespread will be the disaster. It might quite conceivably be a calamity great enough to swamp the credit of many of our strongest looking banks, and to set the world back for half a generation. Therefore the all important question which has now to be considered is the probable duration of the present state of markets."

The consideration of the question of the date he adjourns until next month.

SNOBS AND FOOLS.

A couple of pages are devoted to setting forth the probability of the British South Africa Company being able to carry on. The following passage gives us a fair touch of Mr. Wilson's quality:

"The next thing we shall hear is a concerted howl on the part of the board, the 'chartered' shareholders and their friends in Parliament and out of it, for the assumption by the home government of the entire responsibility and charges incident to carrying on this stock gamblers' 'empire.' Judging by past experience, this demand is sure, after a more or less pronounced show of resistance, to be acceded to by the present desperately Imperial Ministry. We shall have 'this splendid addition to the Empire' thrown upon our hands after Mr. Cecil Rhodes and his friends have made magnificent fortunes out of the 'promotions,' 'flotations,' general orange sucking annexations, and shameless self-glorification connected with it; and if the country can be annexed by us, administered and developed for a million a year dead loss during the next ten or fifteen years, perhaps longer, we may think ourselves lucky. Of course the interest upon the debenture issue now made, and on any subsequent issues, will then become the charge of the British exchequer, and a never ending burden upon us who pay the taxes. Well, it serves us right for being such snobs and fools. There is no measuring the depths to which our complaisant temper toward titled wealth-blighters."

Discussing the debate on the Indian troops at Suakim, Mr. Wilson says:

"Should we fall into the habit of employing mercenary troops from India in the various African wars, which we seem destined to wage for another generation—assuming that India keeps financially on her legs for so long—a day might come when an unscrupulous government would not hesitate to employ them against ourselves."

There is one extraordinary thing about the August number, and that is the article on railways in China by Mr. M. R. Davies. It is the one solitary gleam of light in the whole number, for Mr. Davies believes that there is a great future before China:

"The one thing now wanting for the salvation of China is the construction of a good railway system and an appreciation of the undeveloped wealth of the country."

This solitary expression of hope or faith shines out in strange contrast to the gloom of all the rest of the *Review*.

CORNHILL.

THE August number of *Cornhill* is full of excellent reading. The racy sketch of "American Millionaires" is quoted elsewhere. So are some of the quaint stories in "Children's Theology."

AN IMPECUNIOUS STATESMAN.

The late Sir Henry Parkes is the subject of a kindly character sketch by Mr. A. Patchett Martin, who is, however, careful not to leave the warts out of the picture. The deceased statesman, it appears, was a great borrower:

"Parkes, too, apart from his salary (when in office) had, in the language of the police court, 'no visible means of support.' He accordingly adopted the Falstaffian method of perpetual borrowing. . . . He even reduced his borrowings to a scientific system, and when in want of money applied to the first friend he met in the street for £30. This was his pet figure."

The writer thus sums up the man:

"He was, first and foremost, a public man—in some respects a truly great one. That a man with such drawbacks and deficiencies—lowly birth, poverty, lack of early education, lifelong improvidence, to which may be added untoward, if not unhappy, domestic relationships—should have played such a part for fifty years in public affairs can only be accounted for by the combination of great intellectual capacity with an inborn gift and genius for statesmanship."

A TRIBE WITHOUT A GRAVE.

Memoirs of a Soudanese soldier, Ali Effendi Gifoon, dictated in Arabic to Captain Percy Machell, and by him presented in English dress, give strange glimpses into cannibal life in the Soudan:

"The Fertit tribe used in their own country to eat each other freely, and when a man was so ill as to render the chance of his recovery improbable, he was bought in advance by the highest bidder. The Fertit had no graves, and there is no word for 'graveyard' in their language."

A gruesome story is told of a Fertit recruit who, after being long without human food, broke out, seized a child from its mother's arms, wrung its neck, and "commenced his repast." As punishment he was sent back to his own country. A somewhat "Arabian Night" like story is added of a kite seizing on a sheep's liver in the basket of a chief's servant, and dropping in its place another kind of liver, which, cooked and eaten and found by the chief to be most delightful, was discovered to be a child's liver. Thenceforward the chief had a child killed every day, and dined off its liver. Ultimately the "aggrieved parents" objected, and the chief was killed.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Horace G. Hutchinson puts in a plea for "fagging" akin to that advanced for early monarchs, that if they did oppress their own subjects, they let no one else oppress them, the concentration of oppressive power in the hands of one man being much more bearable than miscellaneous aggression and spoliation. The fagmaster protects the fag from promiscuous bullying. Professor J. K. Laughton furnishes an anniversary study of the Battle of the Nile, which befell August 1, 1798, and another historico-military study is of Gustavus Adolphus, by Mr. Spencer Wilkinson. The "Pages from a Private Diary" form a breezy chatty *chronique*.

THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

WE have dealt elsewhere with M. Barine's article on M. Cruppi's analysis of press trials. The place of honor in the first number is given to an article by the Duc de Broglie, entitled "Twenty-five Years After (1870-1896)." In this article the Duc examines the trend of French foreign policy during those eventful twenty-five years which have elapsed since the Franco-German war, more particularly in regard to the Egyptian question and the understanding with Russia. He evidently thinks that France is overtaking her strength with her gigantic military preparations at home and her vigorous colonial policy abroad, and that the understanding with Russia is not sufficiently definite to serve as a complete counterpoise to the Triple Alliance.

HELMHOLTZ.

M. Gueroult contributes an interesting study of the life and work of Hermann von Helmholtz, the great German *savant*. He was a man of curiously mixed blood, being pure German on his father's side, while his mother was an Englishwoman and his maternal grandmother was French. It is interesting to note that as a child Von Helmholtz had a bad memory, especially for isolated words, irregular grammatical forms, and idioms of language. But he got on better with poetry, and best of all with the best poets, a circumstance which he himself attributed to the unconscious logical harmony which is an essential condition of the beautiful. He even in his youth wrote poetry, which was, of course, bad enough, but was an excellent discipline in forming his style and giving him the power of expression.

THE KHALIFA.

M. Deherain's article on the Khalifa Abdullah is an excellent piece of work, full of interest at this time when all eyes are turned toward the Soudan. M. Deherain begins at the beginning. He shows us the great Mahdi Mohammed Ahmed, the conqueror of the Soudan, appearing every day at the hour of prayer in the midst of his faithful followers. It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence which this practice, continued perseveringly throughout his career, had upon the consolidation of his strange theocracy. At length, one day in June, 1885, the people of Omdurman are alarmed by a report that the Mahdi has not appeared in public as usual, and that he is dangerously ill. It is true. Lying in one of the slightly raised beds, which in the Soudan are called *angrebs*, the dying Mahdi, that pretended envoy of God, whose design had been to conquer not only the Soudan, but Egypt and the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, shook off for a moment the fell typhus which had him in its grip that he might nominate a successor to carry out his schemes. This he did in the memorable words: "The Khalifa Abdullah is marked out by Providence to be my successor. You have followed me and obeyed my orders; do the same with him. May God have pity on me!" The authority thus strangely conferred on him has been firmly defended by Abdullah, and for the past eleven years the territory, which extends from Dongola to Lake Nô on the Upper Nile, and from Darfour to the River Atbara, has remained under his dominion, whatever the Dongola expedition may have in store for him in the way of a diminution of his power.

FRENCH VIEW OF ENGLISH RULERS AND WRITERS.

The rest of M. Deherain's article consists almost entirely of an able summary of Slatin Pasha's recent book on his experiences as a captive of the Khalifa in the Soudan, though M. Deherain has all the Frenchman's suspicion of one who is so friendly to the English power in Egypt. Perhaps suspicion is too weak a word, for at the end of his article M. Deherain denounces England in the usual fervid style for her vaulting colonial ambition concealed by a specious hypocritical philanthropy, her real determination to stay in Egypt and her crowning act of duplicity in sending out the Dongola expedition.

M. Lafenestre deals with the sculpture exhibited at the Salons of 1896, M. Valbert reviews a recent work of Paulhan's on "Intellectual Types," and M. de Wyzewa notices "Weir of Hermiston" in an article which is a curious proof of the extent to which the Stevenson *culte* has spread among Frenchmen of literary tastes.

M. Texte also contributes an interesting study of the Wordsworth *culte* as seen through French glasses. He is fully persuaded that Wordsworth, though one of the great poets of the century, nevertheless remains practically unread in France, in spite of the efforts of some distinguished French critics.

A SWEDISH ZOLA.

M. de Heidenstam continues his papers on the Swedish novel with a study of Augustus Strindberg. Strindberg introduced what is called "Naturalism" into Sweden; but he is only half a realist, in that he is diverted from the naturalistic formula by his taste for abstract ideas in preference to physical phenomena. His characters speak and act in his name, when they are not Strindberg himself. He is an iconoclast, a reformer of the universe, yet pessimistic and skeptical, and in the last resort an aristocrat according to the ideas of Nietzsche. His literary output is enormous, consisting of stories, novels, poems, plays, literary criticisms, various essays, actually including an essay on agriculture in France. In his novel, "Son of the Servant," Strindberg gives us his autobiography. All his stories reveal a profound contempt and even hatred for women whose influence he considers deplorable, and opposed alike to natural laws and the interests of society. M. de Heidenstam evidently thinks Strindberg is mad.

M. Movieau's article on "The Economic Movement" is a study of that return of economic prosperity in France which he prophesied last summer.

M. Houston S. Chamberlain contributes a paper on Richard Wagner, who has lately become rather the fashion in France, which is a pleasant proof that international animosities are not always carried into the serene sphere of art.

THE REVUE DE PARIS.

ALTHOUGH no article in the July reviews can be said to be worthy of separate notice, F. Schrader's curious and thoughtful analysis of the Chinese or Yellow Race problem, and M. Lavisse's powerful analysis of the political parties which go to make the present and probably the future Italy, are both notable additions to periodical French literature.

DANGER FROM THE YELLOW RACES.

M. Schrader evidently believes, as did the late Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, that the Yellow Races—for he

declines to see any substantial difference between the Japanese and Chinese—will soon become a very serious danger to the Old World. He deploras the ignorance with which Europe discusses the problems of the Far East, and points out that the average European has quite as many foolish notions about China and the Chinese as has John Chinaman about Europe and the Europeans. The strength of China, he declares, lies in her immutability; and quoting the well-known authority, Richthosen, he adds: "It would be easier to bind the ocean with chains than to act on the Chinese nation." Further, he says that China will never be touched by any European missionary system, for the Chinaman is thoroughly satisfied with everything in his country, and, above all, with his curious rarefied form of religion; and he is not even swayed by curiosity as to what goes on outside his own yellow world. On the contrary, he has a profound contempt for everything "foreign."

"ARISTOCRATIC AT HEART."

In the same number are published some curious letters written by the famous revolutionist, Barbès, to George Sand, addressed by him from first one and then another of his many prisons. In a long epistle written in 1866 he foretells the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race. "In twenty-five years they will number a hundred millions, and in a hundred years three hundred millions. Amid such an agglomeration what will become of our poor little France? . . . The Anglo-Saxon in America is like the Anglo-Saxon in England, an aristocrat at heart. He may call himself a Republican, and I know that he has just abolished slavery; but Abolitionist or not, the Yankee resembles his father the Englishman inasmuch that he is a being whose whole traditions oblige him to think first for himself and of himself."

Those to whom Petrarch is more than a mere name will find much to charm them in the account, written by the well-known historian and archaeologist, M. Jusserand, of the poet's old age and stately tomb at Padua.

ITALIAN PROSPECTS.

Under the significant title "Quirinal, Vatican, Republic," the editor of the *Revue de Paris* gives his views on the Italian situation. As is natural, M. Lavisse is a determined opponent of the Triple Alliance, and he would fain persuade his Italian friends that nothing but evil can result from it. With this object in view he points out that the party represented by King Humbert and Signor Crispi only composes one-third of the Italian nation; the two others—that is, the Radical or Republican party and the Catholic or Vatican party—being each in their own way extremely powerful, and up to the present time neither having shown the slightest sympathy with Italy's present foreign policy. Although the French writer scarcely touches on the financial side of Italian affairs, he notes significantly the changes which excessive taxation and general monetary depression have wrought among the people. Last year 201,000 men, women and children emigrated; and though the King is respected he is no longer loved, as he once was. M. Lavisse evidently believes that slowly but surely many Italians are beginning to see in a Republican régime the only way of securing a measure of financial prosperity at home and peace abroad.

DESJARDINS ON CUBA.

M. Desjardins discusses at great length the Cuban insurrection, and the part played by America in Cuban

affairs during the present century. The writer asserts that it was at one time easily within the power of either Canning or Monroe to make the island a British or American possession; but the two great statesmen, in consort with those then at the head of public affairs in France, decided to leave to Spain "the pearl of the Antilles." Some time later, in 1846, a number of American financiers decided to buy the island, but the plan fell through; and during the several insurrections which took place in the following forty-six years the government of the United States took no part in the Cuban affairs, not even in 1873, during the course of the *Virginus* affair.

M. Desjardins attributes the present insurrection greatly to a group of Cuban revolutionaries living in New York. There were, he says, in the February of 1895 four political parties in Cuba: the Conservatives devoted to the Spanish government, the Reformers who did not substantially differ from the latter, the Independents or Separatists, and the Autonomists or Home Rulers, who only asked for a local Parliament and a certain measure of self-government, scarcely the elements to keep going a revolution; and the French writer firmly believes that had it not been for the indirect assistance given by the United States, the Cuban insurrection would have come to an end long ago.

LA NOUVELLE REVUE

THE *Nouvelle Revue* is becoming more and more exclusively political and national in its aims and objects. Still poetry and fiction are fairly represented, for the editress has an excellent literary taste, and those who wish to know something of the great Provençal poet Mistral cannot do better than read his "Poem of the Rhone," which, divided into a number of "chants," appear in both numbers of the July *Revue*. Very different in character, but of equal interest to those concerned with Continental literature, is M. Maclair's attack on the literary personality of Emile Zola. To the author of "Germinal" and "Rome" this critic would fain deny all talent, and he is specially incensed at the freedom with which M. Zola receives interviewers and takes part in public movements.

HOW LAVIGERIE REACHED LEO XIII.

A nephew of Cardinal Lavigerie gives a striking picture of the famous Churchman, and tells of his career a number of curious anecdotes. On one occasion, according to M. Louis Lavigerie, the Cardinal asked an audience of the Pope in order to throw his personal influence on the side of the French as opposed to a German Chinese mission. While he was passing through the long galleries of the Vatican, first one and then another of the Italian prelates who form the Papal court attempted to impede his progress. One told him that the Holy Father was ill; another that the Pope had closed his door and would receive no one; a third, throwing himself on his knees, implored the Cardinal's benediction. At last, surrounded by a crowd of chamberlains, papal guards and other obstructionists, he came within measurable distance of the Pope's private apartments; then throwing back his head he suddenly exclaimed in the trumpet-like voice familiar to many generations of North Africans, "Holy Father! Holy Father! you are being deceived. I am not allowed to approach you!" There followed an indescribable tumult; then suddenly a silence which

made itself felt, a door opened, and the shadow-like white figure of Leo XIII. appeared, while a soft voice said calmly, "Come in, my dear son." An hour later the French Cardinal, having obtained all he wanted, passed out again, and as he held up his hand in benediction over the bent heads of the youthful Italian monsignori, he smiled in his beard. The tale if not true is certainly *ben trovato*.

"THE VENICE OF THE EAST."

M. Mury, who holds an important post in the French Colonial Office, contributes two valuable articles on Siam and the Siamese. Bangkok he aptly styles the Venice of the East, and, as is natural, he recalls with a certain melancholy the fact that the town once belonged to the French; indeed, a fortress built by engineers sent out by Louis XIV. remains one of the most striking features of the city. Bangkok is one of the most wealthy and important commercial centres in the East. The Siamese trades are divided into corporations and each guild keeps to its quarter. Indeed, the Siamese seem to compare very favorably with the other yellow races by whom they are surrounded. Their only vice, according to their French critic, is gambling. After their money has all disappeared they will gamble away not only their personal liberty, but that of their wives and children. The gambling houses at Bangkok and elsewhere in Siam are nearly always held by prosperous Chinamen, who finally return home with much ill-acquired wealth.

A CITY OF GOLD.

Vast treasures and rare opportunities of loot await the future conqueror of Siam. The royal city, in which is to be found the palace of the King of Siam, reminds the European visitor of conventional fairyland, or the world of the "Arabian Nights." Everything that in Europe is made of glass or china is there made of solid gold. The very pagoda in which the royal family worship, and which is situated in the gardens of the palace, is made of marble studded with gems and the precious metals. A statuette of Buddha cut out of an emerald of fantastic size, said to have once belonged to the Laotians, is in the temple, and is surrounded by bushes of gold and silver, inclosing gold statues six feet high, each statue being clothed in silk garments studded with gems. No stranger has ever penetrated into the king's own private apartments; but, according to the natives, they are decorated in an even more splendid fashion than are the pagoda and the public or state rooms. The present king of Siam, Chula-Long-Korn, is an exceptionally enlightened humanitarian—that is to say, he has practically abolished torture, and the ordinary criminal is beheaded instead of being slowly tortured to death as was once customary. The Siamese are a lively people, and greatly enjoy playing games and taking part in popular fêtes. On certain great occasions a sort of regatta takes place, in which the whole population, headed by the king and his children, take part. M. Mury declares that at the present time Great Britain may be said to absorb all the commerce between Siam and the outer world, and for the hundredth time in the *Nouvelle Revue* the reader is urged to take up his staff and help to make France a great colonial nation.

"O. K." AND RUSSIAN PRESS LAWS.

Madame de Novikoff in a few eloquent pages discusses the Armenian question. She lays all the blame

of late events on the Cyprus convention, and the gifted "O. K." also goes out of her way to answer the oft-repeated accusation that the Russian press cannot be considered seriously given the power of the Censor. According to Madame de Novikoff, the lead pencil or blacking is only used when home politics are in question. All that concerns foreign affairs are discussed as openly in the Russian press as in Russian salons. But she admits that there are not a few articles in the code that might be altered with advantage, and cites her own case, for by some extraordinary mistake a work written by her was for a whole year placed on the Index.

Other articles discuss the telegraphic communications of France and her colonies (all transmitted by British cables), Unity in Military Action, the reorganization of the Louvre Galleries, the Budget of 1897 and the late Marquis de Morès.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE *Nuova Antologia* contains some excellent reading this month. Madame Jesse White Mario commences an exceedingly interesting account of the Italian prison system. Of the fortress prisons in which men condemned to penal servitude for life are confined, she speaks in terms of the highest praise, both from the moral and the hygienic point of view; but of the penal settlements, "*domicilio coatto*," established on various islands around the coast for minor offenders, she gives the most deplorable account. The criminals are herded together in ill-ventilated dormitories by night, and by day are turned loose to roam about the island, an allowance being made them for food of five pence a day, most of which is expended on drink and gambling. No work is provided for them, and their enforced idleness is not only the greatest curse to themselves, but sets the worst example to the non-criminal portion of the island inhabitants with whom they freely mix. Even the English treadmill system would, in Mrs. Mario's opinion, be preferable.

A CRITIC OF ZOLA.

Signor E. Mari writes of Zola's "Rome" with sufficient severity. He protests against the exaggerated importance that has been conferred upon Zola's views by an indiscriminating public, and declares that the picture given of Rome is the old romantic picture which for centuries past has been in favor with French authors. The mystery, the treachery, the poison, the Jesuit, are all there! Yet he credits Zola with a "marvelously deep and rapid power of observation, and a most vivid sense of reality," and confesses that, in spite of certain exaggerations, the picture of the "Casa Bocanera" is full of characteristic truth. Signor Boglietti concludes his thoughtful series of articles on Socialism in England with a lucid account of English trade unions.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* describes the origin of various of the best known of the Masonic lodges with a view to showing how closely connected are English and Continental Freemasonry, the connection having been of late frequently denied.

The *Revista per la Signorine*, published fortnightly, continues to offer a selection of cheerful and chatty articles in easy Italian, eminently suitable for the young person for whom it is intended.

THE NEW BOOKS.

I. NOTES FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

LET me lead off at once by telling you the names of the books that have been selling best. Here is the list :

March Hares. By George Forth.

The Color of Life, and Other Essays on Things Seen and Heard. By Alice Meynell.

Flotsam : the Study of a Life. By Henry Seton Merriman.

Cameos : Short Stories. By Marie Corelli.

Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

"Made in Germany." By Ernest Edwin Williams.

I take some credit to myself for having mentioned "March Hares" with no uncertain note of commendation long before it became the novel of the season. More delightful writing of its kind—whimsical, and yet true and tender—than that of its first forty pages has not, I think, appeared in England since Stevenson wrote. So good are those few chapters that one can hardly grumble at the falling off that follows—comedy, with a touch of potential tragedy, gives way to boisterous farce, and with the appearance of Drumpies the book misses its full merit and beauty. People are asking what well-known name the pseudonym—one knew it was a pseudonym—conceals. Mr. Harold Frederic is the general assertion. But "The Yellow Book" (which proceeds from the Bodley head) suggests the collaboration of two or three of Mr. Henley's "young men," and even points at Mr. George Stevens, once of the *Pull Mall Gazette*. For my own part I would pin my faith on its being Mr. Frederic's. It appeared at much the same time as "Illumination," which was much more seriously intentioned; and it would be natural enough for its author to wish not to confuse the public with work so dissimilar, to desire not to risk the chances of the larger book by the rivalry of the smaller. It is as surprising as it is gratifying to find Mrs. Meynell's new volume so near the head of this list—Mrs. Meynell; the one woman whose work one would say was caviare to the general, meat too studied, too concentrated, for that large body of readers whose patronage alone can make a book really "sell well." One had taken it rather for granted that, exquisite writer though she was, her audience was few though fit. I suppose that it is the continual praise—we know how justified in all essentials—of Mr. Coventry Patmore (and now of Mr. George Meredith) that has worked this marvel. How distinguished, fine and true her writing is her previous volume of prose, "The Rhythm of Life," showed you; "The Color of Life" will but deepen an impression already too strong to fear oblivion's poppy. Read here—to name but three of the papers—the title essay, "Eleonora Duse," and "Symmetry and Incident"—and you will see at once that the hand that made "Renouncement" has yielded no whit of its cunning. Ah! if the "general reader" can but be brought to appreciate rightly the value, the depth of these intelligent pages! Is it possible? Will he ever care to devote to a paragraph the attention he has been wont to give a chapter? If not, Mrs. Meynell's work is not for him.

The next book is fiction—the work of a man whose novels I have always praised in my letters to you. In "Flotsam : the Study of a Life" (Longmans, Mr. Seton

Merriman would at first appear to essay a task more difficult, less dependent on mere incident for its interest than hitherto. But I am sorry to say that the suggested psychology of the title is but conventional. The story is a good story, but what psychology there is of the old well worn sort, and the book owes, and will owe, its success to the scenes of the Indian Mutiny it depicts so well, the fighting in the lines before Delhi, the well "arranged" intrigue in Calcutta. But as a novelist, Mr. Merriman is always, on every page, readable; that he puts all his goods in his shop window is undeniable, but he dresses them with skill, and the result is excellent—and it is not slipshod, as is too often the novel of its class. "Cameos : Short Stories" is another of the books with which Miss Corelli constantly breaks the record of huge sales. It has all the stuff of extreme popularity between its covers.

Mr. Gladstone's "Studies Subsidiary to the Works of Bishop Butler" (Clarendon Press) is a natural and welcome supplement to his edition of the Bishop's writings. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing entirely with Butler and his teaching, the second with the vast, difficult subject of the state of man in the future life, and is, of course, made up of the articles he has been contributing to one of the American reviews.

In history and biography I have nothing more important to mention than an interesting little illustrated brochure by Mr. Hermann Senn, "Ye Art of Cookery in Ye Olden Time" (Universal Cookery and Food Association); but there are four books of a political and legal kind which are interesting the public. The new volume of the Questions of the Day Series, "America and Europe : a Study of International Relations" (Putnam), in which "The United States and Great Britain," "The Monroe Doctrine," and "Arbitration in International Disputes" are discussed by writers of the very first authority, is the most important; but it is pressed hard by the little book on "The Political Situation"—in South Africa, of course—the work of "Olive Schreiner" and her husband. Then there is Mr. Joseph Collinson's "What it Costs to be Vaccinated : the Pains and Penalties of an Unjust Law," and a curious compilation, issued under the auspices of the Economic Club—"Family Budgets : being the Income and Expenses of Twenty-eight British Households, 1891-1894." This is the result of a serious effort "to study family life in Great Britain through details of family expenditure," and it is rather surprising to see how small a percentage has been spent on alcoholic drink by the families selected. And yet the workers of Great Britain were always supposed "to like their glass!" But then as Mr. Walkley has suggested in the *Daily Chronicle*—it was Mr. Walkley surely?—the sort of family whom you could induce to keep so rigid an account of its expenditure is hardly likely to take its "joy of life" in a manner so loose as beer or spirit drinking!

First in the department of fiction, I think, I ought to mention two tales of the Dutch Indies—one, "An Outcast of the Islands," is by a writer, Mr. Joseph Conrad, whose last story, "Almayer's Folly," had so large and so well deserved a success. Here is a book with the same novel atmosphere, the same sense of remote, untutored savagery, of a

mixture of races beyond the appreciation of the untraveled European. It has the power of its predecessor, it contains as powerful and as beautiful scenes. The other, "Gold," by Miss Annie Linden, is the second volume of Lane's Library, and depends for its interest not so much on literary charm as the sensational incidents following on a search for the hidden treasure fields of a forgotten king. "Gold! gold! gather it! pluck it up! see, it is fat, yellow gold!"—so runs one sentence out of the old, faded document which first put the hero on the scent and ultimately turned his brain. Miss Linden writes pleasantly, if ingenuously, and she manages as she unfolds her story to impart a good deal of information about native life and customs. But she is merely a teller of stories, while Mr. Conrad is an artist, who, knowing so intimately a field so unworked, may achieve something very considerable. A Dutch story, but one dealing not with the Indies, but with Amsterdam, is "A Stumbler in Wide Shoes" by Mr. E. Sutcliffe March, a new writer, I take it. But new to the game or not, Mr. March can tell a story, and his picture of the moral wreck and ultimate redemption of a young Dutch painter is full of interest and power. There is an excellent love interest too—of a conventional kind—in the book, and the world of Amsterdam gives it a novel flavor.

A good English society novel is "A Lawyer's Wife: a Tale of Two Women and Some Men," by Sir W. Nevill Geary, Bart., who has painted a disagreeable, essentially modern woman in a manner reminiscent of Mrs. Alfred Dean, who had, I thought, the prior right to use such types. Well written the tale is not, but it shows plenty of knowledge of the world, and is never dull. You will find also "A Humble Enterprise," by Miss Ada Cambridge, a clever little story, modern in its note, but not too modern. I can always read Miss Cambridge's story with interest. A small book by a writer new to me, and new I think to you, is "Sapphira of the Stage: How Sebastian Goss being Dumb, yet Made Love to Her, and what Befell," by Mr. George Knight, the second volume of the pretty Daffodil Library (which began by issuing Mr. Grant Allen's "The Jaws of Death," without any intimation that it was a new edition of a story half a dozen years old!). There is a good deal of real strength, and some literary ability of a rather untutored sort, in this story, but what may interest you most about it is its ghost scenes, which are refreshingly original, if not very convincing. The "what befell" of the title was lurid enough in all conscience—the submergence of hero and heroine, clasped in one another's arms, in a quicksand! A novel neither you nor those of your friends who care for the better kind of fiction must miss is a new volume in the Pioneer Series, "Across an Ulster Bog," by Miss M. Hamilton, whose "A Self-Denying Ordinance" we both admired so highly. Here this writer has a smaller canvas, but the power of the earlier book is in it—and, more's the pity, that somewhat amateurish way of arranging her sentences which we both noticed before. But the peasantry of Northern Ireland Miss Hamilton certainly knows inside and out. "Mr. Magnus" is a gross travesty, sensational and serious enough in its aim of life at the Kimberly diamond fields. You will see at once that "Mr. Magnus" is meant for Mr. Rhodes—an enemy's portrait—and other characters, like Mr. Barney Barnato, are easy enough to recognize. Mr. Statham, or whoever it is wrote the book, has missed his chance. He might have produced really a powerful novel with a thinly disguised figure of Mr. Rhodes as hero. He could have made the picture

as anti-Rhodes as he liked, but the material would have worked out with a fine picturesqueness and power if it had been properly handled.

Two volumes of short stories deserve a paragraph to themselves. First, Mrs. W. K. Clifford's "Mere Stories" is not only notable for the excellence and uniform interest of the stories it contains, but also for the novelty of its shape—that of the yellow French novel pure and simple! The innovation deserves encouragement. You do not want, at this time of day, an introduction to Mrs. Clifford's many good qualities. She has become one of those few writers of English fiction no one of whose books one can afford to leave unread. And certainly you cannot afford to leave unread a volume of short stories by a new writer—Mr. W. D. Scull's "The Garden of the Matchboxes, and Other Stories." I cannot pretend to give efficient reasons for the faith that is in me, but I feel that in Mr. Scull appears a new writer worth following. At present he is overconscious, rather labored, certainly leaving the impression that to him style is at least as important as matter. He writes about the East, about London life, about—well, about most things, as if he knew them. He is eerie and fantastic and obscure, and one finishes most of his stories with a doubt of their meaning, but still he fascinates and compels interest—and curiosity.

One or two books have been translated this month from Continental languages. There is Björnstjerne Björnson's "The Fisher Lass" in that collected edition of his stories for which Mr. Edmund Gosse writes brief prefatory notes; and there is a new novel by Dr. Max Nordau, "The Malady of the Century," full of its author's confused teaching, but worth your looking at; and, in conclusion, a translation from the Danish of Hendrik Pontoppidan's "The Promised Land," excellently illustrated. Pontoppidan is one of the very foremost of Danish novelists, and I believe one doesn't know European fiction in anything like its entirety if one remains strange to his work.

Short stories and essays make up Mr. Le Gallienne's "Prose Fancies (Second Series)," a very pleasant volume, but of a quality on the whole rather lower than that which preceded it. It contains, however, with a certain amount of rubble, one or two of its author's most beautiful pieces of writing—"A Seventh Story Heaven," for instance, shows how admirable an artist in words, sincere and not affected, he can be, how tender and near the heart of pathos, and love and joy. "The Burial of Romeo and Juliet" is a charming fancy; and one or two papers at the close answer certain critics of "The Religion of a Literary Man," and should be read with that book.

"The Works of Max Beerbohm" is, as you will soon see for yourself, an addition to what Mr. Traill calls the "literature of impertinence." It is a small volume containing those half dozen essays, precious, full of affectations, but still admirably written and always justifying themselves by their qualities of amusement, Mr. Beerbohm contributed to the early numbers of "The Yellow Book." And we have also Mr. Beerbohm's apology for himself, his swan song. "I shall write no more," he says. "Already I feel myself to be a trifle outmoded. I belong to the Beardsley period." And the humor of the thing lies in the fact that even to-day Mr. Beerbohm is not twenty-four! Mr. John Lane's elaborate bibliography of this "outmoded" young gentleman's various productions is excellent fooling, too, and distinctly the little book is one to keep. Here I may mention two new editions—that of Mr. Augustine Birrell's

"Res Judicatæ," in the collected popular edition of his books, a truly delightful volume of literary essays; and M. Alphonse Daudet's "Recollections of a Literary Man," one of the reissue in English form of his better known books.

Three new volumes of verse are out this month—volumes I have myself thoroughly enjoyed, and which I do not think that any one who cares at all for modern poetry can afford to disregard. Two are by Mrs. Woods, already well known as a novelist, and, to a smaller circle, as a poet. "Wild Justice: a Dramatic Poem," has that atmosphere of profound, impenetrable gloom that hung over "A Village Tragedy." But the power of it, the impressiveness! All pathos, and horror, and the poignant anguish of some women's fate is in the play, which can be compared to the work of no other modern but Ibsen. Indeed, Shakespeare himself is, I should think, the model Mrs. Woods placed before her. There is more than a note of that kind of art of suggestion and terror he exercises in "Macbeth" in this tragedy of the lonely Welsh coast. Mrs. Woods is not so depressing a writer in "Æromancy, and Other Poems." It contains one poem, "The Child Alone," that will stand with the best work of Mr. Stevenson's, whose point of view in regard to children it has; and it is a sort of companion in verse to Mr. Grahame's "The Golden Age." "An April Song," and "March Thoughts From England," are both keenly beautiful, but "Æromancy" itself is too obscure for the ordinary reader. The third volume, "A Shropshire Lad," is by a new writer, Mr. A. E. Housman, a very real poet, and a very English one at that. His book is really a biography in verse, in sixty-three short poems, dealing with the loves and sorrows, the dramatic incidents, the daily labors of a Ludlow boy. Simplicity is the note of Mr. Housman's style—simplicity and a dignified restraint. Open at page 38 and read the poem that begins "Is my team plowing?" and then tell me if you do not consider Mr. Housman a distinct acquisition to the little body of young men who are worthily doing their utmost to keep alive the traditions of English song. And I send a new edition of Mr. Edward Carpenter's Whitmanesque volume "Towards Democracy," and a new and complete collection, under the title of "Lapsus Calami, and Other Verses," of the late J. K. Stephen's poetical work. There is a portrait in the volume, and an introduction by his brother. You do not need to be told that "J. K. S." carried on in his own day that tradition of Cambridge verse that C. S. Calverley made for an earlier generation.

Two or three very entertaining, and a couple of very learned, scientific volumes are published this month. The one most likely to be popular is Mr. C. J. Cornish's "Animals at Work and Play: their Activities and Emotions," a delightful collection of papers on the everyday life of animals, which have been appearing in the *Spectator*. Mr. Cornish treats such subjects as "Animals' Beds," "Animals' Toilets," "Military Tactics of Animals," and "Dangerous Animals of Europe" with unflinching vivacity. The papers are illustrated. Sir John Lubbock's "The Scenery of Switzerland and the Causes to which it is Due" (Macmillan), with a number of maps and illustrations, appears very opportunely and its appeal is as much strictly scientific as popular. Mr. Lydekker's "A Geographical History of Mammals" is a volume, well illustrated, of course, of the Cambridge Geographical Series, containing a very clear view of its subject, presented in a thoroughly readable manner.

By the way, "The Royal Natural History" (Warne), of which Mr. Lydekker is editor, is appearing in sixpenny weekly parts. There is no popular work of its kind cheaper or better illustrated, and what is particularly important, the text is always the work of a specialist who can be entirely trusted to give the very latest information on each subject.

Geographical works of one kind or another have a peculiar interest just now. Thus you will welcome Mr. Douglas Sladen's unconventional guide book, "Brittany for Britons," with its "newest practical information about the towns frequented by the English on the Gulf of St. Malo." And there is Mr. H. R. G. Inglis' "The 'Contour' Road Book of Scotland," a series of elevation plans of the Scottish roads for the convenience of cyclists, with measurements and descriptive letterpress. "Two Knapsacks in the Channel Islands," by Mr. Jasper Braithwaite and Mr. Maclean, explains itself. It is a fully illustrated, somewhat humorous description, and may be useful. Major A. F. Mockler-Ferryman's "In the Northman's Land: Travel, Sport, and Folk-lore in the Hardanger Fjord and Fjeld," is a very capable interesting book, whose map and illustrations add to its value. Travel of a different kind is represented by Mr. Julius M. Price's "The Land of Gold: the Narrative of a Journey through the West Australian Gold Fields in the Autumn of 1895." Here too is a map, with many illustrations by the author.

Nothing in the way of theology that I have seen is likely to be more interesting than Mr. F. A. Malleon's new edition, with a considerable number of hitherto unprinted letters of Mr. Ruskin's "Letters to the Clergy on the Lord's Prayer and the Church, with Replies from Clergy and Laity, and an Epilogue." But you will like to have Mr. Richard Lovett's "Primer of Modern Missions," in the Present Day Series, although "considerations of space have forbidden any reference to modern Roman Catholic Missions." One cannot fail to connect this omission with the fact that the Religious Tract Society publish at the same time "The Papal Attempt to Re-convert England," by "one born and nurtured" in the Church whose "new aggressive movement" he seeks to combat.

There is a delightful series of the old standard authors which the publisher has fitly entitled "Books to Have." The latest edition is the ever-green "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," in six eminently companionable volumes. The text chosen is that of E. W. Lane, and there are clever and characteristic illustrations by Mr. Frank Brangwyn, while Mr. Joseph Jacobs, that very erudite scholar, has prepared a critical introduction, in which he claims to have "traced the author" of the "Nights." A better edition than this, one better printed, or of a better shape, could not be imagined. In the Golden Treasury Series has appeared the edition of Sir Thomas Brown's beautiful treasuries of seventeenth century wisdom and of English prose, the "Hydriotaphia" and "The Garden of Cyrus" (Macmillan), on which Dr. Greenhill was engaged up till the time of his death; and the same publishers have added to their series of Illustrated Standard Novels a reprint of Captain Marryat's "Mr. Midshipman Easy," with an introduction by Mr. David Hannay, and a great number of illustrations—such good illustrations—by Mr. Fred. Pegram. No better book exists as a present for a boy than this, perhaps Marryat's best novel, and it could not appear in more attractive garb.

II. SOME VOLUMES OF VERSE.

German Songs of To-day. Edited, with an introduction and literary notes, by Alexander Tille, Ph.D. 16mo, pp. 185. New York: Macmillan & Co. \$1.

The aim of this volume is to supply to American students of German literature a collection of the best and most representative poems in that language. The collection is divided into poems of "Modern Life," "Modern Love" and "Modern Thought," and there is a valuable introduction by the editor, with a list of poets and a condensed biography of each.

Songs, Chiefly from the German. By J. L. Spalding. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.25.

There are few literary tasks so rashly undertaken as the translation of poetry. Can a man translate Heine unless he be a Heine in his own tongue? An examination of all the English versions of Heine songs would bring to light some remarkable monstrosities. Bishop Spalding is not worse than dozens of his predecessors, yet it seems as if some one ought to rise and protest against giving to the English-speaking public such an idea of the great foreign poets. Heine in particular, as is obtained by perusing these emasculated jingles. Take that immortal verse of the "*Auf Flügeln des Gesanges*" where the roses whisper to each other "*duftige Mährchen ins Ohr*." We have here:

"The violets whisper and kiss,
And gaze on the starry sheen;
The roses tell their bliss
The fragrant leaves between."

This is no more Heine than a hand organ's rhythmical wheezings are Beethoven. Again, in the "Palm" the translator gives us the following version:

"On northern hill a fir-tree stands
And slumbers all alone;
Winter round him his icy bands
And mantle white has thrown.

He dreams of Oriental palm,
Who, on her rocky seat,
All solitary mourns and calm
Amid the desert's heat."

This has been translated—by a poet—and any one unfamiliar with German who wishes to see how completely and absolutely all the subtle feeling of the thing has been destroyed may compare these lines with the following:

"In the far north stands a pine tree;
Lone upon a wintry height
It sleeps; around it snows have thrown
A covering of white.
It dreams forever of a palm
That, far in the morning land,
Stands silent, in a most sad calm,
Midst of the burning sand."

If We Only Knew, and Other Poems. By Cheiro. Paper, octavo, pp. 39. Chicago: F. Tennyson Neely.

There are a great many "ifs" and "Fates" in the verses produced by the worthy palm-reader. It might not be inappropiate to compare his Pegasus to a trotting horse who occasionally breaks. There is a good deal of a suddenness about the last line of this last verse of "If":

"If Fate were naught—and we were wise,
All things our wondrous eyes would see;
We'd make 'the present' change 'to be';
We'd write 'it must' 'across the skies.
If Fate were naught—and we were wise
Ah! What a hash all things would be!

Acrisius, King of Argos, and Other Poems. By Horace Eaton Walker. Octavo, pp. 95. Claremont, N. H.: George I. Putman Company.

Acrisius, having been told by an oracle that a son of his daughter Danae shall depose him, has her made away with by Hardspur and Brasker:

"Hardspur: Silence, lady, for the fates are 'gin thee.
Brasker: And thou, squalling nurse, hush thy babbling, or
Hardspur'll marry thee."

Later when Hardspur, thinking Zeus has left, enters the brazen chamber and flees at sight of the King of Heaven, the god soliloquizes as follows:

"Zeus: Great Heaven! Did mortal dare intrude? A silence
As tomb of death doth now encompass me.
Can god as I be thus deceived? 'Twas wind,
The wheels of time in swerveless revolutions,
Or busy death, with sixty funerals to
The hour. . . ."

A little of this goes a long way.

Constancy, and Other Poems. By Naaman R. Baker. 12mo, pp. 150. Mt. Morris, Ill.: Brethren's Publishing Company.

It is rather a novel sensation to light upon a poem headed "In Memory of my Little Daughter," and then, upon being referred to a footnote, to discover that the lines were produced by the author's mother, and are inserted on account of their connection with his own tribute, just preceding, "To the Memory of my Little Sister." The title page of the volume announces that it is "published for the author," which is a very wise and satisfactory arrangement.

The River Bend, and Other Poems. By Tacitus Hussey. 12mo, pp. 168. Des Moines: Tacitus Hussey.

Sonnets and lyrics and epics, many of them illustrated from photographs of the actual people or places sung of, are to be found here. There is plenty of dialect, with its humorous concomitants, and there is a tragedy called "Disillusion," which attests the arduousness of Cupid's labors in the midst of Iowan corn fields:

"Her eyes were of the deepest blue,
Her teeth were white as pearls;
My heart beat at a furious rate;
My eyes were fastened to my plate;
My ego said: 'She is your fate—
This prettiest of girls!'
And when she raised her face to mine,
What sweetness filled my cup!
But when with ears of corn between
Her lily hands were toying seen,
She gnawed the rows off, slick and clean,
I sighed and gave her up!"

Out of a Silver Flute. By Philip Verrill Michels. 16mo, pp. 81. New York: J. Selwin Tait & Sons.

There are a number of quatrains, sonnets and rondeaux in this volume, of which the best has been said when one admits that they might be worse. For the similes are oppressively strained, sometimes ludicrously so, as in the "Sun set":

"Old Sol dipped low and red through clouds he burst,
And all adown a ripple path he trod
Till lo! 'gainst purple lights appeared, reversed,
The golden exclamation point of God."

It is hard to believe that *this one could be worse!*

The Collected Poems of S. Weir Mitchell, M.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 353. New York: The Century Company. \$1.75.

Dr. Mitchell is perhaps most generally known in the literary world as the author of "Characteristics," yet even had we never had that fascinating work the present volume would call for more than an ordinary share of our attention. The collection comprises all of the author's published verses, the first editions of the seven separate volumes in which they originally appeared being out of print.

Perhaps the finest thing among them is the initial

"Francis Drake," which tells of the renowned admiral's execution of his mutinous friend, Thomas Doughty. The scene where Doughty and the rest sit down to a banquet, at his request, prior to his execution is most dramatic and the poem is well sustained throughout, a most unusual circumstance in such undertakings. Dr. Mitchell will always be sure of an audience whether he address them in verse or prose.

Field Flowers. Octavo, pp. 75. Chicago: Field Monument Souvenir Fund, 180 Monroe St. \$1. (By mail, 10 cents additional.)

"Field Flowers" is the title of a collection of Eugene Field's verses published by the Field Monument Committee of Chicago. The illustrations are the work of more than thirty of our leading artists, and to say of them, as we truthfully may, that they furnish a graceful and appropriate setting for the "flowers" of Field's poesy, is surely high praise. The book is sold for the benefit of the children's monument to Mr. Field, and is an appropriate souvenir.

Some of the Rhymes of Ironquill (A Book of Moods). Fifth edition. 12mo, pp. 334. Topeka, Kan.: Crane & Co.

"When back into the alphabet
The critic's satire shall have crumbled,
When into dust his hand is humbled
One verse of mine may linger yet."

Thus "Ironquill," and it is truly an effective preface and a needed. For, despite the fact that the publishers announce this as the fifth edition of this "book of moods," and despite the bits of real poetry which may be found therein, the general tendency will probably be toward satire upon laying down the volume. There is an affecting address to a telegraph wire, which contains the following verse:

"Why in the moonlight, O wire, so sadly, so constantly
moaning?

Brightly in Argentine's smelters numerous crucibles bubble;
Proudly uprears in Topeka the bronze of the dome on the
tholus;

Gaily Pueblo appears with rolling-mills crowning the mesa."

It is hard to keep *any* hands off such stuff as this, but it is a more grateful task to turn to the opening lines of "The Kansas Herder," which are really fine:

"He rode by starlight o'er the prairies dim,
While Melancholy with an aimless whim
Through trackless grass was blindly leading him."

Poems of the soil these and no mistake, and, above all, of Kansas soil: for the poet is an almost rabid patriot, declaring that Massachusetts, Virginia and Kansas will "alone live in story"—the first two for their history and Kansas for "her woes and glory." One naturally wonders in which of these categories should come "Sockless Simpson" and Mrs. Lease and "Whiskers Pepper" and the rest of that shining band of statesmen and "stateswomen."

The Story of Rosina, and Other Verses. By Austin Dobson. 12mo, pp. 120. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$2.

Mr. Hugh Thomson's fifty illustrations are the excuse for reprinting this collection of verses, and the combination is an attractive and graceful one. Mr. Dobson's muse is not altogether unlike the Boucher dilettanteisms whereof he sings in "Rosina." Here your quietly disposed reader need feel in no danger of being harrowed by problems and complexities and tragedies; hearts break—but they shatter *à la* Watteau; everything is light and facile and good-humored. In this, his own special field, Mr. Dobson is hard to equal, however. Very clever and dainty are the verses, and there are occasional witty characterizations which fairly sparkle, as of Boucher's pictures:

"A Versailles Eden of cosmetic youth
Wherein most things went naked save the truth."

Good desserts are to be found here, but such *meringues glacées* would be apt to pall as a steady diet.

New Poems by Christina Rossetti, hitherto unpublished or uncollected. Edited by William Michael Rossetti. 16mo, pp. 397. New York: Macmillan & Co. \$1.75.

Mr. Rossetti divides these "new poems" of his sister's into four classes: General, Devotional, Italian and Juvenilia, the latter including all the verses written before the age of seventeen—for Christina Rossetti was singing of love and life problems before she was in her teens, and the first example given of her work is dated April 27, 1842, when she was a little over eleven. Her brother explains her own failure to print most of the poems, a majority of which have not already been published, either privately or in magazines, on the score of her modesty, since, many of them resembling in substance or form other of her productions, she hesitated to put them before the public. However this may be, we surely cannot have too much of Christina Rossetti. She is always deep and true and womanly, with a Browning-like intricacy of thought which at times verges on tortuousness, but is always worth probing, and the rhythm and color of many of these new poems are fascinating. It is noteworthy that the lily, which her great painter brother used with such subtle effect, appears in poem after poem. The frontispiece to the volume is a comparatively unknown sketch of the poetess by Dante Gabriel Rossetti—probably a study for the *Ecce Ancilla Domini*.

Poems and Ballads by Robert Louis Stevenson. 16mo, pp. 367. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

Mr. Stevenson's most ardent and affectionate admirers would surely be the last to present him to the world as a great poet. The longer one reads his works, the more intimate one becomes with the brilliant and fascinating personality of the man, the more incongruous must his name appear in such a connection. An English reviewer has recently recorded, with infinite self-compacency, how he once wrote to Stevenson, pointing out to him that he could never write a great novel owing to his lack of a "strong, firm moral standpoint," and how the author at once replied, acknowledging that the critic was right. And this moral indefiniteness, though admitting, as Stevenson himself shows it does, of the most masterful literary feats, is far more fatal to the highest poetry than to a great novel. Ethics can be no "veiled mistress" to him who would wear the bays, and the very qualities which make all Mr. Stevenson's readers feel such a strong, unreasoning affection toward him probably incapacitated him for poetry. It would, of course, be impossible to give utterance to such opinions as these but for our Scotchman's many other shining literary achievements; sure it is the reader will find few of those exquisite felicities of expression, those unerring and incisive sentence thrusts which make Stevenson's prose unlike anyone else's. Most of the poems are undeniably commonplace; only in the whimsicalities, the humorous oddities, does the author's personality seem to rid itself of the trammels of versification and walk with freedom and certitude. In this, his most characteristic vein, there are, however, a few gems. For instance:

LOOKING FORWARD.

"When I am grown to man's estate
I shall be very proud and great
And tell the other girls and boys
Not to meddle with my toys."

TIME TO RISE.

"A birdie with a yellow bill
Hopped upon the window sill,
Cocked his shining eye and said,
'Aint you 'shamed, you sleepy head'!"

These are perfect of their kind, but when we come to those parts where in prose the author was most secure, the tragic and dramatic passages, there is an almost incredible let-down. Take the legendary South Sea maiden, the "bride of the shark" in "The House of Tembinoka":

"She gazed; all round her to the heavenly pale
The simple sea was void of isle or sail—
Sole overhead the unsparing sun was reared—
When the deep bubbled and the brute appeared"

And yet the man who wrote this could give us, in his own proper vehicle of expression, that overwhelming scene on board the "Flying Scud," to mention only one of many.

This volume of poems contains all those previously published—"A Child's Garden of Verses," "Underwoods" and "Ballads"—and some forty new ones. Besides the dainty bits for children noted above, there is another group which shines on the note brightly from its disappointing surroundings—the verses in "Scots." Some of these are as natural, as free and as charming as if Robert Burns himself had guided the pen that wrote them. Indeed they have much of his unrestrained humor, and there is more music in one of them than in all the rest of Stevenson's verses put together. Every one who cares for his writings (and who does not?) would wish to have his poetical output, whatever the quality; but some of these little lyrics really make up for all the rest. Had he left us nothing but these we should surely have credited him with a much larger portion of the divine spark of poetry.

The Standard Hymnal: A New Hymnal for General Use. Compiled and arranged by C. C. Converse. 12mo, pp. 112. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 35 cents.

This collection aims at presenting all the favorite congregational tunes, ancient and modern, with music and words, as an assistance to fuller and more universal joining in the singing by the congregation.

The Glory of the Garden, and Other Odes, Sonnets and Ballads in Sequence, with a note on the relations of the Horatian Ode to the Tuscan Sonnet. By William Vincent Byars. 32mo, pp. 190.

Mr. Byars dedicates his volume to "all Good Women and all who love them." One is forced to wonder what Mlle. Guilbert would say to "Yvette, the Ballet Dancer:"

Have you no soul at all, fair, lithe Yvette,
Are you then but a shameless, dancing sprite,
One of those nixies

Far down in Sheol, wicked nixies dance
Before gray, bald-crowned sinners and smooth boys—
Smooth, beardless boys who dream that Sheol's joys
Shall be eternal! How their lithe limbs glance
In the red, gleaming fire-light as they dance,
Mad with delight that ruins and destroys!"

Lovers Three Thousand Years Ago. By Rev. T. A. Goodwin. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 12mo, pp. 41.

Mr. Goodwin has endeavored to present the Song of Solomon with all "textual criticism" eliminated and "to restore the text to the form which made the poem a treasure to the ancient Hebrew." He believes that its lesson of the "unchangeableness of love" is by no means the least important of the Bible's teachings.

The Sacrifice: An Epic. By Benj. T. Trego. 12mo, pp. 205. Detroit: Free Press Printing Company. \$2.

The author declares this to be "only a study, not an effort, much less an attempt to treat worthily a subject so sublime." The "urgent requests of friends" have been necessary to overcome his reluctance to putting it into print. It is divided into three parts, each of six cantos, and finished up with an "Image divine." The titles of the cantos in Part I. are as follows: "Heaven," "Earth," "The Advent," "The Nativity," "The World" and "Jerusalem."

Shadows of Yesterday. By Charles Gifford Orwen. 12mo, pp. 98. Rochester: Published by the author. \$1.

Mr. Orwen has attacked rather a large subject in "Jupiter Fallen," and the result is what might be anticipated. In the "Rhyme of the Phantom Death" he has these lines:

"With his palm beneath his chiffrin
Sits my mask-hid sin!"

and hints in a preface that his gallantry in altering the sex of personified sin, as established by "Milton and others," may be quite defensible.

Essie: A Romance in Rhyme. By Laura Dayton Fessenden. 12mo, pp. 93. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.

This "romance in rhyme" takes the form of a series of letters from various people to various other people. A critical spirit might cavil at calling the pairing of "his home" and "welcome" a rhyme, but the "romance" ends well and that's the main thing about a romance.

An Oaten Pipe. By James B. Kenyon. 16mo, pp. 133. New York: J. Selwin Taft & Sons. \$1.

A strange "oaten pipe" this, that pipes of a "Chanson du Matin," "Carpe Diem," "Laborare est Orare" and *Землепое*. Rather an excess of cultivation to such oats, as the farmer said when the hired man fresh from college ploughed up every stalk of grain in the field.

Armenian Poems. Rendered into English verse by Alice Stone Blackwell. Boston: Roberts Brothers. \$1.25.

These translations prove that the Armenian poets have much of fire and dramatic action. Many of the poems are very rich and Eastern in expression, and they form an interesting collection. In an appendix is given a remarkable specimen of an Armenian prose poem dating back to the fifteenth century.

Under the Pines, and Other Verses. By Lydia Avery Coonley. 16mo, pp. 104. Chicago: Way & Williams.

The author warns us in her prefatory lines that these "simple rhymes" have "no plan" and "no moral hid," "no prize for one who delves." It might be held justly that "blue" and "dew" form a rhyme not simple but decidedly complex. To the rest of the assertion we can cheerfully subscribe.

The Golden Shuttle. By Marion Franklin Ham. 12mo, pp. 128.

Mr. Ham has won many plaudits for his easy, graceful verse. One of the best poems in his present volume is a sonnet called "Dawn," which has much color and feeling.

Songs of Night and Day. By Frank W. Gunsaulus. Octavo, pp. 144. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Gunsaulus has some charming verses in his present volume, and he looms up large beside the average verse producer. "At Beach St. Mary" opens thus:

"The long brown arm thrusts out to sea
Headland lost in sliding sands;
So Time indents Eternity;
We live on Being's borderlands."

Some of the lyrics fairly sing themselves along, as in "When the Poet Comes:"

"The ferny places gleam at morn;
The dew drips off the leaves of corn;
Along the brook a mist of white
Fades as a kiss on lips of light.
For lo! the poet with his pipe
Finds all these melodies are ripe."

The book is altogether very attractive and Mr. Gunsaulus is to be congratulated on his work.

Repetition and Parallelism in English Verse: A Study in the Technique of Poetry. By B. C. Alphonso Smith. 12mo, pp. 76. New York and New Orleans: University Publishing Company. 60 cents.

Mr. Smith's book is entirely devoted to the two points mentioned, since he believes the influence of repetition and parallelism on metrical harmony and rhythm to be much farther reaching than is generally allowed. Many instances, antique and modern, are cited of the adroit application of such blendings of both usages as occur in the "Ancient Mariner" to a very marked degree, and in nearly all truly

lyrical poetry. There are special chapters on the occurrence of such phrases in both Poe and Swinburne, the author bringing to light and classifying some very curious and interesting examples.

The Legend of Aulus. By Flora Macdonald Shearer. 16mo, pp. 95. San Francisco: William Doxey.

The titular poem in this volume is a versification of one of the legends from the *Gesta Romanorum*. Among the other verses, ballades and sonnets there is an affecting lament on the death of a cat:

"A pretty, timid, gentle thing,
Whose claws for me were always sheathed,
That loved the very air I breathed,
Is surely worth remembering."

And again:

"I know, I know I did my best
To save it from the coming dark,
And keep alight life's feeble spark;
But—Death was stronger—therefore rest
Poor little friend"

A Woman's Love Letters. By Sophie M. Almon-Hensley. 16mo, pp. 82. New York: J. Selwin Tait & Sons.

It is a fortunate woman depicted by the author, for after many questionings and anxieties and unhappinesses her final "Song" runs thus:

"Where is the waiting time?
Where are the fears?
Gone with the winter's rime,
The bygone years.

O'er life's plain, lone and vast,
Slow treads the morn;
Night shades have moved and passed,
Joy's day is born."

Wind-Harp Songs. By J. William Lloyd. 16mo, pp. 132. Buffalo: Peter Paul Book Company. \$1.

One may love Walt Whitman and his work; indeed, no one with a catholic heart and a right feeling for broadness and greatness can help realizing that he filled his place incomparably well, yet for how much is he responsible through his preachings of the gospel of formlessness! The "Wind-Harp Song," which leads in Mr. Lloyd's volume, has some true poetry in it, if one but have patience enough with the striving after strength by way of chaos to cul! this out. His characterization of the myriad night creatures as "citizens of the void, mysterious, situate between the pulses of life called day" is original and poetic; but right next to it, in his list of the various forces which make up the night winds are these absurd lines:

"Steams;
Malaries from the marshes;
Dreams;—
Tell also all the wisdom,
All the romance of their substance."

Fleet Street Eclogues. By John Davidson. 16mo, pp. 218. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.25.

Mr. Davidson's eclogues are a little puzzling at first. His Fleet Street journalists' alternate praise or blame of their craft, with praise (always) of ale ending up with a Rileyesque arrangement, thus:

Amen!
SANDY:
BASIL:
Was Hael!
BRIAN:
Drine Hail!

This on New Year's Day. St. Valentine's Eve sentiments follow, and on St. George's Day all the journalists agree that the English "are the people," the "world's forlorn hope," etc. The author's liberties of language tempt one to apply some schoolboy German to the venture—"Was Für?"

Tennessee Centennial Poem. By Mary A. A. Fry. Octavo, pp. 174. Chattanooga: M. A. A. Fry.

This volume is "a synopsis of the history of Tennessee from its earliest settlement on Watanga to the present time, with short biographies of the most prominent men"—the same being done into rhyme by the author aforesaid. The invocation to the state runs thus:

"One hundred years have come and gone since she was permitted
To place her star on Freedom's brow and be admitted
Into the United States, a sovereign with all her rights,
Buried treasures, resources, possessions, hopes, delights."

Further on:

"Daniel Boone now attempted to move into Kentucky,
But was attacked by Indians and thought himself lucky
To escape with his family"
Again, of Farragut:

"He commanded the *John Adams*, *Greyhound* and *Seagull*,
The *Ferret* and the *Brandywine*, and when seasons were dull
Attended lectures at Yale, learning the carpenter's trade;
Spent two years nursing his wife, who was an invalid."

But those who wish to delve further into these historic utterances must get the book; there are one hundred and seventy-four pages waiting for them. It is safe to say that, taken as a whole, this achievement is *sui generis* and has never been equaled.

The Prince of Hades. By A. O. Kaplan. Quarto, pp. 32, paper. Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company.

The hero of Mr. Kaplan's tale, after rising "to the welkin fair" and soaring "upon the trackless air of mute infinity," drops for some unexplained reason into Hades. He finds the de'il, whom he calls Pyrus, not nearly so black as he is painted. Indeed after listening to the Prince's tale our adventurer hails him as a benefactor to mankind, and begs to return to the green sward, being so "drenched with rapture" that he fain must sing the praises of his new friend to ignorant earth dwellers.

Whiffs from Wild Meadows. By Sam Walter Foss. 12mo, pp. 272. Boston: Lee & Shepard. \$1.50.

If one may be pardoned for saying so, it looks as if the wonderful success of James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field were causing the "poems of the soil" business to be run into the ground. Yet there are good things about Mr. Foss's whiffs. If his humor is not often subtle it is generally genuine, and his tale of the hens who, after bankrupting their owner, scratched the flowers off his grave, is a good variation on the poultry joke. Mr. Foss leaves his dialect and humor in the "Coming American," which contains enough Fourth of July sentiment to satisfy Whitman himself. It also contains, perhaps, too much Whitman to satisfy that poet.

Poems and Fragments. By Paul Shevill. 16mo, pp. 61, paper. Springfield: Paul Shevill. 25 cents.

The author, in his preface, which takes the form of a letter to his brother, declares himself reluctant to publish the poems above alluded to, for the following reasons: (1) There is not a perfect stanza among them; (2) they are "mere fragments from extempore things, written in my twenty-first year and never re-touched;" (3) it hurts him to "force a business" out of his writing. He would much prefer, would this noble youth, the "old way" of earning his education by working in odd hours; but since that would mean "broken health and the loss of another year," which he "cannot afford," why he sacrifices his feelings and begs the public to subscribe a quarter each to send him through college. The first "fragment," "My Mother," opens thus:

"Her grateful eyes no more shall meet my own
With glad approval and maternal pride."

which speaks well for her at any rate, for this new variation of the street begging "orphan with eight small brothers and sisters to feed, wash and clothe" is hardly calculated to fill with joy the heart of its originator's mother.

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The Awakening of the Negro. Booker T. Washington.
The Election of the President. John B. McMaster.
Out of the Street: Japanese Folk-Songs. Lafcadio Hearn.
A Day's Drive in Three States. Bradford Torrey.
Teaching the Spirit of Literature. W. P. Trent.
Some Yorkshire Good Cheer. Eugenia Skelding.

The Bookman.—New York. September.
Was Benjamin Franklin a Plagiarist? Kate Stephens.
The Most Famous of Spanish Manuscripts. A. M. Huntington.
The Religion of Robert Louis Stevenson. W. J. Dawson.

Century Magazine.—New York. September.
Midsummer in Southern Italy. Elizabeth Robins Pennell.
The Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Richard Burton.
Prehistoric Quadrupeds of the Rockies. H. F. Osborn.
The Gold-Fields of Guiana. Thomas Dalgeish.
Life of Napoleon Bonaparte.—XXIV. W. M. Sloane.
Glave's Journey to the Livingstone Tree. E. J. Glave.
The Bicycle Outlook. Isaac B. Potter.

The Cosmopolitan.—Irvington, N. Y. September.
Granada and the Alhambra. H. C. Chatfield-Taylor.
William Wetmore Story. Mrs. Lew Wallace.
A Summer Outing on Northwestern Waters. R. E. Strahorn.
The Wonderful New Eye of Science. Camille Flammarion.
The Disease of Inebriety. Norman Kerr.
An Unpublished Essay on "Honor," by Aaron Burr. W. E. Curtis.

Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly.—New York. September.
Colonial Dames and Their Daughters. Sally Nelson Robins.
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The United States Lighthouse Establishment. Joanna R. Nicholls.
The Nuremberg of the Master-Singers. G. W. Bardwell.
The War in Cuba. Frederick A. Ober.

Godey's Magazine.—New York. September.
Political Caricatures and Caricaturists. Robert Shackleton.
Entailed Poverty. Kathryn Staley.

A Sketch of Poster Styles. R. G. Badger.
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Music in America.—XVI. Rupert Hughes.

Harper's Magazine.—New York. September.
First in Peace. Woodrow Wilson.
The Art of Driving. Henry Childs Merwin.
Cliff Dwellings. T. Mitchell Prudden.
Old Silver. Theodore S. Woolsey.
Among the Trees. Anna C. Brackett.
Musical Celebrities of Vienna. William von Sachs.

Lippincott's Magazine.—Philadelphia. September.
The Natural History of "Fiatism." Fred. P. Powers.
The Life of a Medical Student. A. L. Benedict.
How to Conduct a Local Newspaper. J. A. Cockerill.
Advantages of International Exhibitions. Theodore Stanton.

McClure's Magazine.—New York. September.
The Discovery of Anesthesia. Elizabeth W. Morton.
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Among the Gloucester Fishermen. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps.
Whistler, Painter and Comedian.

Munsey's Magazine.—New York. September.
In the White House. Alice E. Lewis.
The Daughters of Mexico. Jeannie A. Marshall.
In a Girls' Gymnasium. Jean Pardee-Clark.

New England Magazine.—Boston. September.
Harriet Beecher Stowe. George Willis Cooke.
The Grand Monadnock. Edward W. Emerson.
The University of Vermont. Robert E. Lewis.
A Chapter from the History of Know-nothingism. G. H. Haynes.
New Bedford. George F. Tucker.

Scribner's Magazine.—New York. September.
The New Olympian Games. Rufus B. Richardson.
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On the Trail of Don Quixote.—II. August F. Jaccaci.
The National Portrait Gallery. Cosmo Monkhouse.
Sport in An Untouched American Wilderness.
Country Roads. Frank French.

THE OTHER AMERICAN AND ENGLISH PERIODICALS.

(From the latest numbers received.)

American Amateur Photographer.—New York. July.
Can We Learn Too Much? G. Lorimer.
Our Leading Amateurs. W. S. Clow.
Enlarged Paper Negatives. H. Stuart.
American Catholic Quarterly Review. Philadelphia. July.
Italy and the Ruins of Political Liberty. Thomas Hughes.
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American Historical Register.—Boston. June.
Lafayette's Visit to the United States in 1824-25.
Irish Rhode Islanders in the American Revolution. T. H. Murray.
Indian Wars in New England in Colonial Times. Mary Woodworth.
The Garrison of Fort Amsterdam. L. D. Scisco.

American Magazine of Civics.—New York. July.
Is the Foreigner a Menace to the Nation? W. G. Puddefoot.
International Arbitration. Belva A. Lockwood.

Is the Double Standard Desirable? W. A. Richardson.
The Suffrage Campaign in California. Adeline Knapp.
How to Make the Vice-Presidency Attractive. L. Satterthwait.
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The Canadian Elections. T. C. L. Ketchum.
International Law—Duty of Neutral Nations. John Gibbons.
American University Magazine.—New York. July-August.
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The Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.—II. J. H. Peck.
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History and Men of Illinois College.—II. G. W. Govert.
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Confusion in College Names. W. R. Baird.

The Arena.—Boston. August.
The Telegraph Monopoly.—VIII. Frank Parsons.
Bibliography of the Land Question. T. E. Will.
Is the West Discontented? John E. Bennett.
Whittier—the Man. B. O. Flower.
Club Life vs. Home Life. G. S. Crawford.
A Social Settlement. Annie L. Muzzey.
Mahayna Buddhism in Japan. Annie E. Cheney.
Ethics the Only Basis of Religion. R. B. Marsh.
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Appleton's Popular Science Monthly.—New York. August.
Proposed Dual Organization of Mankind. W. G. Sumner.
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The Aim of Modern Education. C. H. Henderson.
Early Years of the American Association. W. H. Hale.
"Spirit" Writing and "Speaking With Tongues." W. R. Newbold.

The Genius and His Environment. J. M. Baldwin.
The Scallop. Fred Mather.
Epidemics of Hysteria. W. Hirsch.
Architectural Record.—New York. (Quarterly.) September.
Optical Refinements in Mediæval Architecture.—I. W. H. Goodyear.
French Cathedrals.—VII. Barr Ferree.
Modern Hospitals in Europe. Alphonse de Calonne.
Dr. William Thornton, Architect. Glenn Brown.
Authority in Architectural Design. J. B. Robinson.
Architectural Aberrations.

Art Amateur.—New York. August.
The Painting in Mire. H. L. Williams.
Suggestions to Drawing Teachers. Ernest Knauft.
A Talk About Embroidery. L. Higgin.

Art Interchange.—New York. August.
Modern Russian Art.
A Sketching Tour in Brittany.
The Mural Decoration at Washington.—III. Elizabeth Newport.
Practical Lessons in Modeling.—III. W. O. Partridge.

Atlanta.—London. August.
Wm. Shenstone and Warwickshire; Haunts of the Poets. G. Morley.
Knives, Spoons, and Forks. Aymer Vallance.
The Modern Jews in Europe. R. O. A. Dawson.

Badminton Magazine.—London. August.
The Grouse. A. I. Shand.
Baseball in England. R. Morton.
Night Shooting in India. Col. T. S. St. Clair.
On Rowing Camps. H. Coffey.
Wild Stag Hunting. Viscount Ebrington.
Shark Fishing. H. R. Francis.
Grace in Cycling, and How to Attain It. W. Hay Fea.
The Revival of Croquet. Mrs. Churchill.

Bankers' Magazine.—London. August.
Bank of England Reserve and Recent Alterations in Country Note Circulation.
Bankers and New Companies.
A Year's Failures.
Writings on Bank Notes.
English Financial Panics—Their Causes and Treatment.

Bankers' Magazine.—New York. July.
Credit, Credit-Man, Creditor. J. G. Cannon.
Bank Taxation—Injustices and Inequalities. J. C. Mabry.
Foreign Banking Systems.

August.
Financial Politics of the Presidents.
New York State Bankers' Association.
Banking and Commerce in Canada.

Biblical World.—Chicago. July.
Rev. George Adam Smith, D.D. A. B. Bruce.
The Parable of the Field. C. J. H. Ropes.
Excavations in Babylonia and Assyria. Robert F. Harper.
The Character of Jesus. N. S. Burton.
History of Old Testament Prophecy. W. R. Harper.
August.
The Old Testament in Education of the Race. G. A. Smith.
A Half Century of Assyriology. D. G. Lyon.
The Ancient Synagogue Service.
Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life. A. V. W. Jackson.

Blackwood's Magazine.—London. August.
A Strange Episode in the Life of Maj.-Gen. Sir James Browne.
Robert Burns.
An Excursion in the Atlas Mountains. Walter B. Harris.
Some German Novels.
Through Touraine on Wheels. Sir Herbert Maxwell.
England's Duty in South Africa: A Study on the Ground. A. Michie.

Board of Trade Journal.—London. July 15.
Cotton Cultivation in the Caucasus.
English Industries on German Competition.
The Foreign Trade of China in 1896.

The Sugar Industry of Formosa.
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Borderland.—London. (Quarterly.) July.
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George Fox. With Portrait.
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The Bookman.—New York. August.
Uncollected Poems of H. C. Bunner.
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An Unpublished Poem by Edmund Waller.

Canadian Magazine.—Toronto. August.
A Canadian Bicycle in Europe.—V.
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Cassell's Family Magazine.—London. August.
Round the Royal Mews. B. Fletcher Robinson.
At Home and Abroad with George Curzon. W. E. Grey.
English Cave-Dwellers of To-day. Rev. S. Baring-Gould.

Cassier's Magazine.—New York. August.
Some Unusual Forms of Locomotives. G. L. Cark.
Brains in Modern Steam Engine Building. W. D. Wansbrough.
Fly-Wheel Novelties. H. E. Campbell.
Elevator Cables. Charles Desmond.
The World's Desire for Rapid Transit. G. E. Walsh.
Sand Blast Apparatus for Cleaning Castings. F. C. Brooks-bank.
Conveying Belts and Their Use. T. Robins, Jr.
Some Fuel Problems. J. D. Weeks.
The Storage Battery. A. E. Childs.

Catholic World.—New York. August.
Convention of the Irish Race.
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"The War of the Sexes." J. P. MacCorrie.
Fifty Years of American Literature. W. B. McCormick.
Pilgrimage Churches in the Tyrol. Charlotte H. Coursen.
The Church in the Sandwich Islands. L. W. Mulhane.
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Are Anglican Orders Valid? C. J. Powers.
Evolution of a Great City. J. J. O'Shea.

Chambers' Journal.—Edinburgh. August.
The Case of the Trawler and the Line Fisherman. W. A. Smith.
"Hansard."
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A Chat About Barristers.

Charities Review.—Galesburg, Ill. May.
Treatment of Tramps in Small Cities. J. W. Bradshaw.
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The Chautauquan.—Meadville, Pa. August.
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A Traveler's Views of New Mexico. J. R. Spears.
Where Do the Immigrants Go? C. C. Adams.
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The Bank of England. Horace Townsend.
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Tennyson's Women. Eugene Parsons.

Church Quarterly Review.—London. July.
The Constitution of the Churches in the Days of the Apostles.
The Present Tendencies of Presbyterianism.
The Epistle to the Romans.
Dr. Bright's "Studies in Church History."
Professor Moore's Commentary on Judges.
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The Education Bill; What Next?

Contemporary Review.—London. August.

Mr. Balfour and His Critics—"The Foundations of Belief." Professor Seth.
 Home Rule and the Irish Party. T. P. O'Connor.
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 Mahomedanism; the Caliph and His Duties. Ahmed Riza Bey.
 Nitragin: a New Advance in Agriculture. C. M. Aikman.
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 Browning's Poem, "La Saisiaz." A. Taylor Innes.
 The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead. J. Hunt Cooke.
 Money and Investments.

Cornhill Magazine.—London. August.

The Battle of the Nile; an Anniversary Study. J. K. Laugh-ton.
 American Millionaires.
 Memoirs of Ali Effendi Gifoon; a Soudanese Soldier.
 Children's Theology.
 Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Spenser Wilkinson.
 Sir Henry Parkes. A. Patchett Martin.
 Fags and Faggings. Horace G. Hutchinson.
 Pages from a Private Diary. Continued.

Cosmopolis.—London. August.

The True Cosmopolis. Frederic Harrison.
 Bloated Armaments. Justin McCarthy.
 The Comité de Salut Public in the Light of Recent Documents.
 Current German Literature. John G. Robertson.
 Tunis and French Colonization. (In French.) Joseph Chailley-Bert.
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 The Ethics of Modern Novels. (In German.) Lady Blennerhassett.

Critical Review.—London. (Quarterly.) July 15.

Rev. E. P. Gould's Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark.
 Ramsay's St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen. R. J. Knowling.
 E. von Dobschütz's "Studien zur Textkritik der Vulgata."
 Prof. R. G. Moulton's Literary Study of the Bible. Dr. D. Hunter.
 Avestan Difficulties Not a Hindrance. Dr. L. H. Mills.

The Dial.—Chicago. August 1.

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Dublin Review.—London. (Quarterly.) July.

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Economic Review.—London. (Quarterly.) July.

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 The Rights of the Individual. Rev. H. Rashdall.
 Socialism and Social Politics in Austria. Rev. M. Kaufmann.
 Some Statistics of Middle-Class Expenditure. E. Grubb.
 The Agricultural Banks Association:
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Edinburgh Review.—London. (Quarterly.) July.

Cardinal Manning and the Catholic Reaction of Our Times.
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 Sheridan.
 The Universities of the Middle Ages.
 The Countess Krasinska's Diary.
 The Paget Papers.
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 The Government of France Since 1870.
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Educational Review.—London. August.

Eton Reminiscences.
 Cardinal Richelieu.
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 The Teaching of Science in Girls' Schools. Mrs. M. McKillop.

English Illustrated Magazine.—London. August.

The Wreck of the *Drummond Castle*. Charles Marquardt.
 Sir Charles Gavan Duffy; a Famous Irish Statesman. With Portrait.
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 Woman; Her Hat, and the Height of Absurdity. R. S. Loveday.
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 The Right Way to See Norway. H. L. Braekstad.

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 Bethel Pike, Virginia; On an Old American Turnpike. A. G. Bradley.
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 The Making of an American President. Francis H. Hardy.

The Forum.—New York. August.

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 A French College Sixty Years Ago. Jules Simon.
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 Social and Economic Influence of the Bicycle. J. B. Bishop.
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 Significance of the Canadian Elections. George Stewart.

Free Review.—London. August.

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 The Immorality of Religious Education. R. de Villiers.
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 The Present Position of Unitarianism.
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 The Evils of Boarding Schools. Thomas Waugh.
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 Noah's Ark. D. Stokes.
 Dangerous Women. A. Laidlaw.

Gentleman's Magazine.—London. August.

Senior Wranglers. Charles G. Nuttall.
 In Spanish Gipsyries. James Platt.
 The Credulous Side of the Railway Mania. John Pendleton.
 An Eighteenth Century Atlas of England and Wales. F. Owen Whitaker.
 The White Rose on the Border. Continued. Alison Buckler.
 "Œdipe Tyranne" at the Comédie Française. W. A. Fox.

The Green Bag.—Boston. August.

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 The English Law Courts.—VI.: The Ecclesiastical Courts.

Gunton's Magazine.—New York. August.

The Chicago Platform.
 English Reasoning on Protection.
 Sweating System in New York City. J. M. Mayers.
 Labor Problem in Japan. Fusataro Takano.
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Homiletic Review.—New York. August.

The Biblical Account of the Deluge.—III. J. W. Dawson.
 Local Aids to Pulpit Realism. C. Geikie.
 Study of the Apocrypha by the Preacher. J. O. Murray.
 False Theories of Right and Wrong. W. S. Killy.
 Assyrian Politics and Israel's First Captivity. J. F. McCurdy.

The Irrigation Age.—Chicago. August.

Influence of Irrigation on Climate and Health. W. L. Woodruff.
The South Dakota Artesian Basin. F. F. B. Coffin.
The Art of Irrigation.—XV. T. S. Van Dyke.

Jewish Quarterly Review.—London. July.

Egyptian Fragments. Dr. A. Neubauer.
Some Remarks on Samaritan Literature and Religion. A. Cowley.
The Demonology of the New Testament. F. C. Conybeare.
The Talmudical Law of Agency. Rev. L. M. Simmons.
Jehuda Bonsenior and His Collection of Aphorisms. Dr. M. Kayserling.
The Dietary Laws from a Woman's Point of View. Frances A. Joseph.

Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies.—Philadelphia. June.

American Hydraulic Gates and Movable Dams. A. O. Powell.
Highway Bridges. Carl Gayler.

Journal of the United States Artillery.—Fort Monroe. (Bi-monthly.) July-August.

Naval Attack on Sea-Coast Fortifications. H. L. Hawthorne.
The Tram-Chronograph. F. J. Smith.
The Principles of War. Colmar, Freiherr von der Goltz.
Garrison Artillery Warfare.
Artillery Material.
Military Geography: Cuba.

Juridical Review.—London. (Quarterly.) July.

Historical Development of Scots Law. Prof. J. Dove Wilson.
Lorimer's Juristic Theory. A. Thomson.
Legal Position of Auditors of Joint-Stock Companies. R. Scott Brown.
Progress of the Second Division of the Court of Sessions.
The Scogger in Domesday. G. Law.

Knowledge.—London. August.

Hygroscopic Seeds. Rev. A. S. Wilson.
English Coins. Continued. G. F. Hill.
Waves. Continued. Vaughan Cornish.
Stock-Taking of the Variable Stars. Lieut.-Col. E. E. Markwick.
Fur-seals; Our Fur Producers. R. Lydekker.
How to Observe an Earthquake. Dr. C. Davidson.

Lend a Hand.—Boston. August.

Plan for Permanent International Tribunal. W. S. Logan.
Counsel and Action. W. A. Butler.
Man and Beast. Edward E. Hale.
The Sweating System. Henry White.
Our Dealings With the Indians. J. E. Greene.

Leisure Hour.—London. August.

The Round Towers of Ireland. C. Lee.
A Holiday Ramble in the Volcanic Eifel, Germany. Katharine S. Macquoid.
Glimpses of Dr. Johnson in Eighteenth Century Oxford. E. B. Parry.
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 Immigrants: Where Do the Immigrants Go? C. C. Adams, Chaut.
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 Indian Medicine Men, L. G. Yates, OM.
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 Present Conditions of Literary Productions, AM.
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 Livingstons, The, W. F. Livingston, MM.
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 Nile, Battle of the, J. K. Laughton, C.
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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

AP.	American Amateur Photographer.	Ed.	Education.	MM.	Munsey's Magazine.
AHReg.	American Historical Register.	EdRL.	Educational Review. (London).	Mus.	Music.
AHR.	American Historical Review.	EdRNY.	Educational Review. (New York).	NatM.	National Magazine.
AMC.	American Magazine of Civics.	EngM.	Engineering Magazine.	NatR.	National Review.
AAPS.	Annals of the Am. Academy of Political Science.	EI.	English Illustrated Magazine.	NEM.	New England Magazine.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology.	FR.	Fortnightly Review.	NewR.	New Review.
AMon.	American Monthly.	F.	Forum.	NW.	New World.
APS.	Appleton's Popular Science Monthly.	FreeR.	Free Review.	NC.	Nineteenth Century.
ARec.	Architectural Record.	Frl.	Frank Leslie's Monthly.	NAR.	North American Review.
A.A.	Arena.	GM.	Gentleman's Magazine.	OD.	Our Day.
AL.	Art Amateur.	G.	God's.	O.	Outing.
AL.	Art Interchange.	GBag.	Green Bag.	OM.	Overland Monthly.
Ata.	Atlanta.	GMag.	Guntton's Magazine.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine.
AM.	Atlantic Monthly.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine.	Prev.	Philosophical Review.
BA.	Bachelor of Arts.	HomR.	Homiletic Review.	PA.	Photo-American.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine. (London).	IJE.	Internat'l Journal of Ethics.	PB.	Photo-Beacon.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine. (New York).	IA.	Irrigation Age.	PT.	Photographic Times.
BW.	Biblical World.	JAES.	Journal of the Ass'n of Engineering Societies.	PL.	Post-Lore.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly.
BRec.	Book Record.	K.	Knowledge.	QJEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics.
Bkman.	Bookman. (New York).	L.H.J.	Ladies' Home Journal.	QR.	Quarterly Review.
CanM.	Canadian Magazine.	L.H.	Leisure Hour.	RR.	Review of Reviews.
CFM.	Cassell's Family Magazine.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine.	R.	Rosary.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine.	Long.	Longman's Magazine.	San.	Sanitarian.
CW.	Catholic World.	LQ.	London Quarterly.	SRev.	School Review.
CM.	Century Magazine.	LuthQ.	Lutheran Quarterly.	Scots.	Scots Magazine.
CJ.	Chambers's Journal.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine.
CRev.	Charities Review.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine.	Sten.	Stenographer.
Chaut.	Chautauquan.	Men.	Menorah Monthly.	Str.	Strand Magazine.
CR.	Contemporary Review.	MetM.	Metaphysical Magazine.	SJ.	Students' Journal.
C.	Cornhill.	MR.	Methodist Review.	SunH.	Sunday at Home.
Cosmop.	Cosmopolis.	MidM.	Midland Monthly.	SunM.	Sunday Magazine.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan.	MisH.	Missionary Herald.	TB.	Temple Bar.
Dem.	Demorest's Family Magazine.	MisR.	Missionary Review of World.	US.	United Service.
D.	Dial.	Mon.	Monist.	USM.	United Service Magazine.
DR.	Dublin Review.	M.	Month.	WR.	Westminster Review.
ER.	Edinburgh Review.	MI.	Monthly Illustrator.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine.
				YR.	Yale Review.

[It has been found necessary to restrict this Index to periodicals published in the English language. All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

The World of Thrift and Money Matters.

Certifying Municipal Bonds.—A very important step in enhancing the security of investment in municipal, state and county bonds has been taken by the United States Mortgage and Trust Company of New York. The many forgeries and irregularities in the issue of such bonds which have come to light within the past year clearly demonstrate that some such protection is needed for these securities as is afforded railway bonds and similar investments. The latter are always registered at the office of some well-known trust or guaranty company, which also affords a convenient place of registration in the chief financial centre of the country, saving holders the inconveniences and expense of forwarding securities to place of issue in

order to obtain new certificates registered in their name.

The result of this is that very few frauds or irregularities have taken place in the case of these securities; while on the other hand the extensive operations of Quigley in New York and Lewis in Dayton, Ohio, have revealed the ease with which municipal bonds may be forged and these forgeries floated. When we consider that there are now something like a billion and three-quarters of municipal, state and county bonds outstanding, and that something like \$125,000,000 of new bonds are issued each year and sold largely to savings banks, insurance companies and others intrusted with trust funds, and finally the many small invest

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ors, the importance of surrounding this business with every possible safeguard is apparent. It is indeed remarkable, in view of the many frauds and unintentional irregularities, leading to large losses, which have been made, that steps have not been taken long ago to prevent the broadcast issues of cheaply-printed and ill protected stuff, representing millions of dollars.

The plan of the United States Mortgage and Trust Company involves first of all the careful engraving of all bonds by a responsible company, with the best workmanship and giving absolute security with the different stages of manufacture, and preventing either plates or impressions from falling into improper hands. Second, the counter-signature of all securities by the company, in order to prevent over-issue by carelessness or fraud; third, a place of registration in New York City where purchasers may send the securities they hold and obtain new certificates registered in their name; fourth, a certificate of legality by eminent counsel indorsed on the bond in *fac simile* of the original paper held in possession of the trust company which will be responsible for the genuineness of the same, in this way avoiding the constantly recurring expense and delay of examination of the security by counsel for each new purchaser; fifth, the payment of interest at New York, affording convenience to investors and a safeguard against the acceptance of fraudulent coupons through the payment of responsible and experienced trust companies.

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Timber Forests as an Investment.—

There is a positive danger from the present situation of the timber market, says George E. Walsh in a recent issue of the *Independent*, that farmers may be led to part with their wood land at prices which do not begin to represent their actual value. For years our farmers have been urged to plant products for profit, and thousands of acres have thus been planted and cultivated. Then at this early date facts and figures are offered to prove that lumber interests are no longer profitable, and many have lost their faith in such property. The real truth is that good timber land is more valuable to-day than it was ten years ago, and the farmer who has good trees growing should not sacrifice them. The day is rapidly approaching when the American continent will fail to raise all the timber it requires. Canada will then play no important part in depressing prices of this commodity, and the woods of South America and of Central America will be called upon

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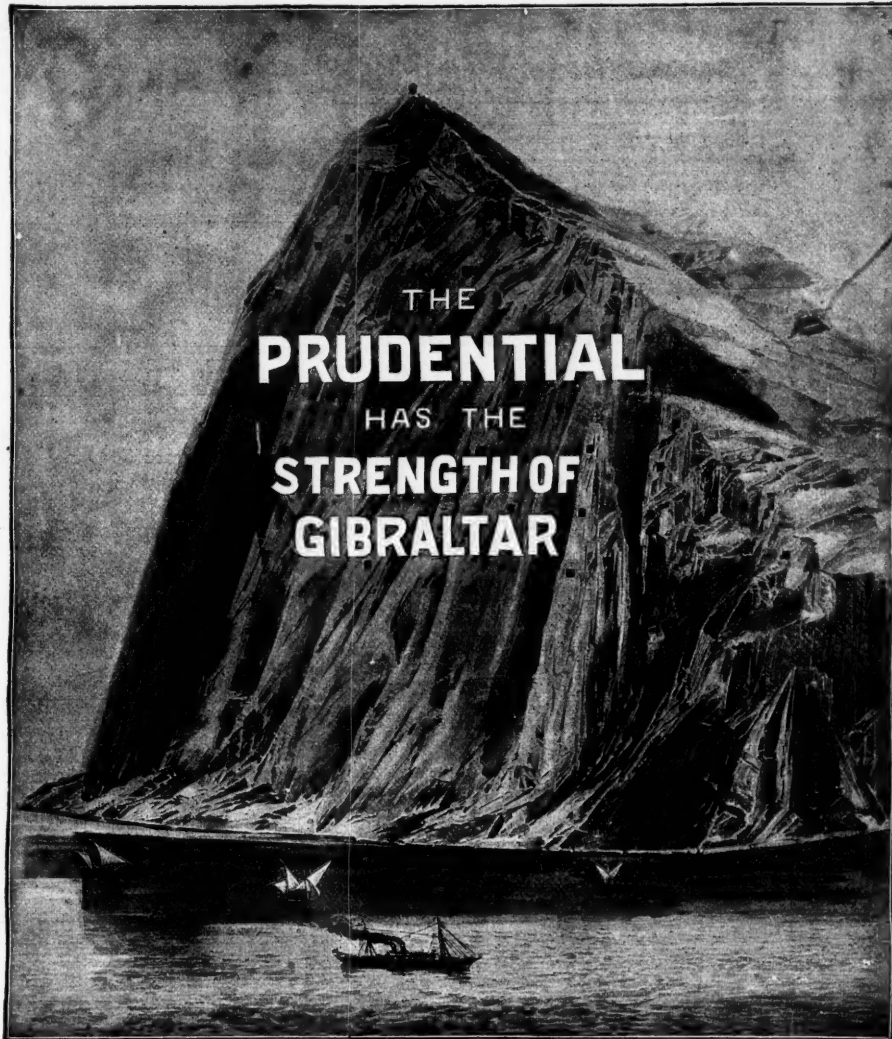


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to make good the deficiency. But this means increased prices, and the farmer who bequeathes to his children fine forests will leave a legacy beyond the price of stocks and bonds. In Tennessee a farmer set out a ten-acre growth of ash trees twelve years ago, and to-day the tract is worth seven or eight thousand dollars. Of course this cannot be duplicated everywhere—half a century is required to raise many of our trees for the market. But their value is always sure, and it is a gilt-edged stock in which the farmer is investing. A little extra time and labor from his regular farm work gives him a chance to build up a small fortune for those who must succeed him on the farm. Instead of impoverishing his children by leaving them worn-out, stony land, he may enrich them with fine timber forests that will be the pride of the surrounding country.

The Chicago Panic.—It is now clear that the huge failure of Moore Brothers of Chicago, and the subsequent closing of the Chicago Stock Exchange, possessed nothing like the general importance which was attached to it at first. The Chicago Stock Exchange is not a large affair—even if its business were added to that of the stock exchanges of Boston and Philadelphia it would still not be so large as what is known as the "Little Board" of New York, while the business of the latter amounts to only about a third of that of the New York Stock Exchange proper. The Chicago Exchange was

closed mainly from the fact that its transactions have been very largely confined to the two stocks in which Moore Brothers were more largely interested. These were the Diamond Match Company and the New York Biscuit Company. Both of these were industrial "trusts" in the organization of which Moore Brothers had been largely concerned. It appears that the immediate cause of the failure of the Chicago firm was due to an unsuccessful attempt to lift the price of these stocks, or more especially that of the Diamond Match Company, to a very high figure. Diamond stock was selling at around 116 when Moore Brothers undertook to engineer something like a corner. In the course of the deal the firm loaded up with above five and a half millions of the stock at prices ranging from 150 to 240. Their inability to sustain the stock at anything like the latter figure was the immediate cause of their embarrassment. Chicago bankers and capitalists promptly came forward to assist the broken firm, while the closing of the Exchange prevented a general slaughter of values. The uneasiness caused by the Chicago flurry resulted in a heavy decline in values on the New York Stock Exchange three days later, and a number of important business failures were reported over the country, and lastly that of the Murray Hill Bank. The latter was one of the minor banking institutions of the city, and remained closed less than a week. There was a general regain of values, due to a better feeling and a tone of renewed confidence.